

SPARKS FROM THE ANVIL

SENDING THEIR RAYS OF LIGHT IN DARK PLACES.

Futile Attempts to Deny Class Struggle—Fusion Scheme Can't Stem Pauperism—Teddy Advertising Himself to Employing Class at Cleveland.

Prof. William James, of Harvard, would impose what he calls a "blood-tax" upon the scions of wealth. He would have the gilded youths drafted to industrial occupations for a certain period, in order to soften the contrasts, that "accident of birth and opportunity," impose upon men. It would surely be a great sweetener of the life of nothing but toll and pain of the worker, for him to know that some scion of wealth had made a bluff at enduring the life of the mines, trains, foundries, stockholes, etc., for a short period. Such conscription is an old game anyway. A young Vanderbilt acted as a locomotive fireman, and a budding Harriman did "something" on the Union Pacific lines, and Teddy junior "worked" at carpet making. But the game is still older; the Chinese Emperor, from time immemorial, has put hand to the plow in the ploughing season. The scheme won't work out as Prof. James hopes; the degradation of exploited labor is not to be minimized by the exploiting class donning overalls for brief periods.

"The Comrade," State organ of the Pennsylvania S. P., carries a motto that is dangerously misleading, when it advises "union men" to "strike at the ballot box—no injunction there." No injunction at the ballot box—no counting out; no intimidation of voters by threats, that if they vote a certain way, the shops will close down; no dismissals from their jobs of Socialist agitators? The fact of the matter is that there is a more widespread intimidation at the ballot box than ever was dreamt of in injunction strikes.

The Edinburgh "Evening Dispatch," which ostrich like, thought that all labor troubles were over when the old age pension scheme went into effect, has received a severe jolt. A report issued by the Local Government Board for Scotland on unemployment and pauperism "knocks all the heartening out of us" says the editor. Despite old age pensions, there was last year an increase of 2,054 in the number of paupers in "thirty" Scotland, of whom 305 were lunatics. A very significant fact, too, is the discovery that whereas of the same individuals relieved 37.10 per cent. were over sixty-five, no fewer than 49.44 per cent. were between fourteen and sixty-five. "This," says the "Dispatch," "imports unemployment, and a bad dose of it," then back into the sand goes its ostrich like head.

Dr. Wiley, the government chemist and pure food agent, having condemned as harmful to health, the use of some chemicals in the food products of a large concern, the concern's representative unblushingly asked the doctor if he would consider that a sufficient reason for interfering with a business in which large capital was invested. The doctor said that he would consider it his duty to interfere. But was the other man so very far out of the way in asking the question? While manhandling is permitted daily in the world of industry, why draw the line at harmful ingredients in food?

The United States continues to expand as a world power. Our ruling class has decided to "help out" the Negro Republic of Liberia, with financial and other aid. This desire to help the Negro people is of course wholly humanitarianism and has nothing to do with securing coaling-stations or the getting of a foothold in Africa.

H. M. Hyndman, a leader of the English Social Democratic party, is helping the jingo forces by advocating a Big Navy. In the August 13th issue of "Justice" Hyndman defends his policy by saying: "I have always understood that the Socialist policy, as laid down by International Congresses, favored a Citizen Army in place of a Militarist Army, in order that nationalities might better protect themselves against invasion without risk at home." Great Britain he says has no militarist army worth speaking of, and no citizen army at all, hence he pins his faith for defense upon the Navy which, however, he fails to de-

fine as to whether it is citizen or militarist. Hyndman claims to see in the growth of the German navy a "danger to the growing forces of democracy and Socialism in this country, and not merely to the dominant classes." Hurrah, for a big navy as a defender of Socialism! In justice to the English S. D. P. we must state that three of its branches have repudiated Navy Hyndman.

T. R., member of the Railway Firemen's Union, and general adviser of the world, uttered himself in Cleveland on Thursday the 26th, anent the Columbus street car strike, saying: "I will cinch the disorderly workmen just as I will cinch the law-breaking corporation." Looked at superficially, it might be held that if that were the case then "disorderly" workmen would go scot free, but that is not what Teddy meant to convey. What he meant to convey was assurance to employers that he would know how to deal with labor troubles. The part about corporations was not needed but it served to cover what otherwise would have been a plain unvarnished statement.

The New York "Evening Post," organ of the Moneybags, betrays its feeling of satisfaction at the result of its persistent booming of the Socialist party, when, in referring to the letters of acceptance of Charles Edward Russell, Socialist party candidate for Governor of New York, and Robert Hunter, Socialist party candidate for Governor of Connecticut, it says: "The Socialism which they will popularize will not be the simon-pure article of twenty years ago or even ten years ago." The "Post" is not far wrong. The Russell-Hunter letters read more like the populist effusions of 1892 than Socialist utterances of 1910. Change the names and the letters would do for reformers, Bryanites, insurgents, even standpatters, and what not, in the field of political quackery.

Because of this the "Post" may think its Moneybags crew safe from all danger of Socialism. Its reasoning might be correct were it not that the raging of the class conflict is not stilled by S. P. politronery; and were it not for the fact that the Socialist Labor Party unflinchingly stands in the breach and upholds the banner of uncompromising class conscious revolutionary Socialism.

"The National Association for the Prevention of Mendicancy and Charitable Imposture," which has just rendered its first annual report, and has a lot to say about coping with mendicancy, fights shy of striking at the root of the evil, economic and social conditions, which put some idlers on horseback, and throw others, who would have been industrious, idle into the street to starve or beg. The society ought to have a Parasites' Gallery as a companion piece to its present Impostors' Gallery. It could start the new collection from among those social parasites who are behind its own formidably titled organization.

It can not be emphasized too much: the profits on which the capitalist class riots in luxury and the wages on which the working class rots in misery are both the product of the workers' toil. The one can not get more without the other getting less. Both strive to get a greater "share," the toiler rightly, the capitalist on the robber's plan.

You (workmen) feel and we (scientists) feel that among the so-called learned folks, we alone are brought into contact with the tangible facts in the way that you are. You know well enough that it is one thing to write a history of chairs in general, or to address a poem to a throne, or to speculate about the occult powers of the chair of St. Peter; and quite another thing to make with your own hands a veritable chair that will stand fair and square and afford a safe and satisfactory sitting-place to a frame of sensitiveness and solidity.—Huxley.

We are in receipt of a document entitled: "What the Waterways Convention Is About." What the waterways convention is "about" is the getting of its hands into the Government grab bag of rivers and harbors appropriations.

Fifty thousand enlisted soldiers have deserted from the United States army in the last twelve years, states a writer in the "Cosmopolitan." The army, it seems, must be a poor place of refuge for those who flee from the industrial battlefield. With the one, as with the other, it is hard work and poor pay.

"DRASTIC" LABOR LAWS

Amendments to the labor laws of New York State go into effect September 1. Already are these amendments termed "drastic legislation," while as a matter of fact they are in some respects acknowledged to be not as far-reaching as the labor laws of many foreign countries. The amendments to the labor laws of the State impose new liabilities upon the employers. Beginning September 1 the employer engaged in certain "especially dangerous" occupations must compensate his injured workmen. The employments considered especially dangerous are named in the law.

Edson S. Lott, president of a casualty company, in an article in the "Journal of Commerce," points out that instead of as formerly when damages might or might not be awarded by a court and jury (the whole matter hanging on whether or not the negligence of the employer was responsible for the injury), the new law provides not only for compulsory compensation, but by amendment of the general employers' liability law the employer becomes liable "when personal injury is caused to an employee who is himself in the exercise of due care and diligence at the time—by reason of any defect in the condition of the plant, or any part thereof, which defect had not been discovered or remedied owing to the negligence of the employer or any employee entrusted by the employer with the duty of seeing that the plant was in proper condition."

In other words, the new law seems to do away with the old "fellow servant" clause, by which, if the accident was "caused" by a fellow worker employed by the same boss, the boss was not liable. There are, however, the usual number of "provided" in the law. There is "provided that the employer shall not be liable in respect of any injury which does not disable the workman for a period of at least two weeks from earning full wages at the work at which he was employed, and provided that the employer shall not be liable in respect of any injury to the workman which is caused in whole or in part by the serious and wilful misconduct of the workman."

The change seems to be this: Heretofore it was held that when a person sought and obtained employment he assumed within "reasonable" bounds the dangers which went with the job. In case of accident he had to prove that he was not at fault. Now it is the employer who must prove that the injured employee was at fault, else he cannot use that as a defense. This means that the burden of proof as to contributory negligence is transferred from the employee to the employer. Those instrumental in having the amendments passed hold that they will pass the constitutionality test.

To the layman who looks at capitalist-made and capitalist-enforced "labor laws," they always appear to be six of one and half a dozen of the other. For all Law, be it observed, is

the expressed will of the ruling capitalist class, expressing their material interests. What, then, is there behind these "labor laws"? Many and varied things. The carnage on the industrial field is horrifying, death and disease rendering many employments more dangerous than actual warfare. The souls of sensitive reformers are harrowed by the tales of woe and suffering that this carnage entails, and they get busy at having it all straightened out. This is the genesis of many labor laws. They are primarily the result of sentiment. Let the workman but suggest to such reformers that, if they really wish to render him a service, they should help get rid of the social system responsible for the industrial murders and maimings, and see how quickly they will be ready to turn and rend him for whom their very hearts bleed so sorely!

Not the least of reasons for "labor laws" is that they provide opportunities and places for the birds of prey upon capitalism. The liability companies who take up the "risks" for employers are already crying for higher rates on the score that employers' risks are increased by the law. And, seems to us, we can see a lot more jobs, for the faithful, which the "enforcing" of the new law will provide.

Turn the matter about as we may, we don't see much of anything for Labor in "labor" laws passed by and with the consent of the class that exploits Labor.

ple to prevent a miscarriage of justice.

At the meeting last Saturday these facts were touched upon by the various speakers. M. Bernhard, who spoke first, dwelt upon the fact that although America is declared a safe place for political fugitives, it is only by eternal vigilance that the workers can protect political fugitives of their own class. He instanced the tremendous efforts that were needed to protect Jan Pouden and Christian Rudowitz, and he asked all present to do their utmost to stand by Wezosal and secure his freedom.

S. Bergis, who followed as second speaker, said that this latest attempt of Russia was only another of its many acts to seize liberty loving people and extinguish the spark of freedom; that Russia, not satisfied with the defeat it had met in the Pouden and Rudowitz cases, was again trying its perfidy. The workers must again rise up and rally to the defence of one of their own and prevent the deportation of Wezosal.

Mr. Aptekas spoke last. He called attention to the necessity of organizing this defense, and further pointed out that the working class must join in the demand for Socialism, which, when attained, would stop these murderous soundings of men who are only trying to do good for their kind.

A poem, written by Wezosal in the Federal Jail was read by Mr. and Mrs. Kundsia, and it was hailed with great enthusiasm.

A collection was taken up which amounted to \$78.50.

The following resolution was passed by the meeting:

Whereas, America has often been a sheltering place for many, especially political fugitives;

Whereas, Comrade Julius Wezosal, recently arrested, has been a revolutionist in Russia, and in this country is a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and is editor of the Lettish Federation's official organ, "Proletarets";

Whereas, The charges alleging him to be an accomplice in the confiscation of funds in Tiflis are without a basis,

Whereas, The United States government has no lawful reason to deliver Julius Wezosal to the tyrannical inquisition of Russia, and so, together with the Russian officials, Shippenbach and Rosen, try to prove Wezosal an Anarchist, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we five hundred workmen assembled in International Hall on this August 29, raise our voices in protest and ask to have political rights upheld, and also demand the unconditional and speedy release of our Comrade Wezosal.

While still lying in jail before his release on bail, Wezosal sent the following letter to The People on August 19:

"I received to-day last Monday's issue of the Daily People (and also a copy of the 'Call' of Tuesday), and was overjoyed. I know now that besides my legal defenders—who will prove to the utmost detail my innocence—I shall have moral defenders. Comrades, America's workers, all the well-intentioned American people will bespeak my innocence, and will not see a guiltless person convicted, and will shield me against Russian terrorism.

"The Russian government accuses me of doing that of which I NEVER DREAMT. Rest assured that it will stoop to the most contemptible means and slanders to secure me in its grasp. But this time the officials of Russia here will NOT succeed in serving their government, as they have had a man arrested who can prove precisely every step he has made.

"With regard to the charge of Anarchy, these officials have also badly bungled. The Lettish people know only too well how resolutely I have opposed Anarchism with TONGUE AND PEN, and have never in my life had intercourse, or even acquaintance with Anarchists or like elements. This is attested, without adducing further proof, by my membership in and complete loyalty to the S. L. P.

"My aim, my life's work till now has been but the clarifying and organizing of the working class. To make generally understood the scientific views which Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have given us, has been the little that I have done.

"Comrades and sympathizers, stand together for Justice!

"With Socialist greetings,  
"Julius Wezosal."

S. P. CORRUPTION BARED

JUDAS MONEY RECEIVED FOR ST LOUIS FUSION.

S. P. Publishing Company Gets Valuable Piece of Property for Boosting Sell-Out to Republican Party—Thing so Rotten Local Suspended.

St. Louis, Mo., August 28.—It is well known to those connected with the Socialist movement, or those following it carefully how the Socialist Labor Party exposed the fusion and corruption of the Socialist party in the municipal elections of this city in the spring of 1909. It is also well known how the whole S. P. press unsuccessfully tried to "explain," excuse, or point blank deny the charges which the S. L. P. press directed against the S. P. Now we have the information that that S. P. deal was more corrupt than ever suspected; that it was not only a question of securing political office and what prestige and emoluments may go with it, but that there was direct material "reward" for the act of treachery to working class interest. And this latter information comes from no less an authority than the Missouri State Committee of the Socialist party. This committee investigated the charges of fusion preferred against the St. Louis Local; it found the charges sustained, and upon a state vote of its membership, declared the St. Louis charter revoked.

The same committee makes public the nature of the corruption with which St. Louis Labor Publishing Company, an S. P. concern which publishes "St. Louis Labor," was rewarded. It received a piece of property for its part in the political jobbery.

It will be best to submit, for a better understanding of what has just become public here, a report as published in "The St. Louis Republic" of August 13: The report runs as follows:

"Found guilty of fusing with the Republicans in the city election of April, 1909, the local Socialist party has been read out of the State party and the local charter revoked by a vote of the State branches. The St. Louis local lost by a vote of 404 to 85.

"The news of the charter's revocation was told yesterday in the Missouri Socialist, the party bulletin published in Joplin, Mo. An investigating Committee, representing the State Committee, made a thorough investigation of the charges of fusion at a meeting held in the Moser Hotel several months ago.

"The charges grew out of the election of Doctor Emil Simon to the Board of Education, G. A. Hoehn's acceptance of the nomination on the Board of Freeholders on the Independent ticket, and the placing of three non-Socialists on the Socialist ticket.

Doctor Simon last night refused to accept the dictum of the State Committee. He said the national organization only had the right to revoke the charter.

"A new charter is to be issued to the Socialists in St. Louis who are known as the Protestors. The protestors are headed by George Nein, secretary Machinists' Union; Julius Siemers, delegate to the Central Trades from the Newspaper Carriers, and George W. Boswell of the Iron Molders' Union.

"The Socialist paper in St. Louis named Labor is not a representative paper of the Socialist party, according to the members of the Protestors. The leading spirits in the local which has lost its charter were Doctor Emil Simon, G. A. Hoehn; L. E. Hildenbrandt and William Brandt.

"Besides the political nominations and actions of the disowned local organization the State Committee in its investigation considered charges of padded membership lists and the peculiar transfer of a building to the Labor Publishing Company.

"Otto Stifel on April 4 transferred a building at No. 906 Chouteau avenue to Martin G. Wolf, a clerk in a real estate office. The deed was not recorded at the time, but was held up until August 6, when Wolf transferred the building to the publishing company. The deeds were both recorded the same day, but entered in different books.

"The transfer of the building from Wolf to the paper company was taken to be evidence that the local body had sold out to the Republican party.

"Some of the leaders of the organization which has lost its charter were leaders of the Federal Labor Union, which was declared to be a bogus organ-

(Continued on page six.)

ORGANIZER KATZ REPORTS

FINISHES TOUR OF OHIO; STARTS IN INDIANA.

Finds Conditions Favorable for S. L. P. Propaganda—Activities of the Sections—Efforts of Employers to Smother the Party's Agitation by Discharging Agitators—S. P. Men Not Molested.

Terre Haute, Ind., August 18.—My last report was from Columbus, O., where the street carmen's strike is still in progress; but little interest is shown by the workmen in this vicinity in the struggle of their fellow workmen in the capital city of Ohio.

Since I left Columbus I covered the following Ohio cities: Dayton, Hamilton, and Cincinnati, Ohio, and Evansville, Ind.

Dayton is the home of the National Cash Register Company, which owns half of the town. The system of exploiting its employees is so perfected that the company is doing a very large export business. The company's own advertising sheets claim that half of its output is sold abroad. Evidently this is made possible by the system of sub-division and perfected methods of production. How, otherwise, could they undersell goods produced by European "cheap labor"?

There has been no Section of the Socialist Labor Party at Dayton since 1901. The S. L. P. men were expelled out by the register company; S. P. ers were not bothered! Still I found a number of Socialist Labor Party men at Dayton and got some new readers for the Party press. Only two days were assigned to me in that city, and I was unable to organize a Section in so short a time. But the matter of organization has been placed in the hands of a comrade who recently moved to Dayton and who, together with Comrade Fox of Cincinnati, will attend to the matter.

Hamilton, Ohio, is a city of about 26,000 population, a factory town throughout. There are some members-at-large of the Socialist Labor Party in Hamilton. At the two meetings held others were brought in contact with our members, our press and literature. Comrade F. Steiger has taken an application blank to form a Section and will no doubt succeed in forming one. Due to the oppressive heat our meetings were not very large.

The S. P. is displaying little or no activity in the towns mentioned except that picnics are held. The quarter admission ticket entitles the holder to a yearly subscription to the "Appeal." There is talk in some quarters that the S. P. will start co-operative grocery stores and then this paper will, no doubt, be given away "free" with a half a pound of tea.

In Cincinnati the work of getting sign-

ers to the Socialist Labor Party nomination papers was taken in hand. Comrade Fox went out with me every day to get signers at the factories. Ohio comrades must get 12,000 of them, twice as many as in New York State, but the work is well under way and will be accomplished. Evenings the members of the party took their turns to go out with me and visit former members and sympathizers, sometimes called "backsliders," but of course I would not use such a harsh term. We held a well-attended indoor meeting, which the members of the German Workmen's Singing Society attended in a body. I also secured the floor before a Local of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

Cincinnati has a very large Negro population. These colored wage slaves have not as yet grasped the meaning of our movement. Many of the white wage slaves, when we approached them with the request to sign S. L. P. nominating petitions, wanted to know the difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. Literature dealing with this subject should be liberally distributed everywhere.

Evansville was the first city in Indiana visited by me. There is a lively S. L. P. Section there. We held three meetings, sold quite some pamphlets and secured 15 People subs, and one for the German Party paper. The Section has a good membership, some old stalwarts and some young active men. At one of the meetings held the subject was, "The Difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P." Some S. P. members attended this meeting. Moses Smith, a veteran in the Labor Movement and former S. P. man, also spoke at this meeting. There were no questions asked, but one young S. P. member subscribed to the Weekly People for a year. Several workmen joined the S. L. P.

Rudolph Katz.

A CALL FOR ACTION!

At the Wednesday evening, August 24, session of the Sub-Committee, that body, on behalf of the National Executive Committee, decided to call upon ALL Sections of the Socialist Labor Party and affiliated organizations to initiate the organization of conferences in their respective localities, composed of progressive labor and fraternal bodies, and organizations friendly to the cause of Russian Freedom; to arrange meetings to protest against the arrest, at the behest of the Russian Government, of Julius Wezosal, Editor of "Proletarets," Lettish organ of the S. L. P., and also to raise finances for his legal defence.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary.  
New York, August 25, 1910.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

WEZOSAL OUT ON BAIL

AMOUNT DEMANDED REDUCED FROM \$10,000 TO \$5,000.

Friends of Russian Freedom Pool Their Funds and Deposit Certified Check with Authorities—Wezosal Greatly Cheered by the Protest Made in His Behalf.

Julius Wezosal, editor of "Proletarets," organ of the Lettish Socialist Labor Federation, was in New York August 27, having been released on bail pending a hearing of his case. Wezosal, who is a clear eyed, honest, and pleasant appearing young man, called at the offices of the various papers that have taken an interest in his case. He said that he had been greatly cheered by the unanimity of the protest that had been made in his behalf.

Mrs. John Kundsia, who has labored with indefatigable zeal to get bail for Wezosal, also to get his case before the public, accompanied him.

Boston, Mass., August 26.—Julius Wezosal, whom the Russian Czar is trying to get in his clutches has been released on bail. The agents of Russia charge that Wezosal participated in the robbery of an imperial treasury car in Tiflis, in December 1907. The charge, Wezosal declares, is wholly without foundation, and is evidently trumped up for the purpose of discouraging political agitation in Russia or the aiding of such agitation by political refugees here.

Wezosal declares that he was not in Tiflis at the time of the attack upon the currency car and that he was studying philosophy in Zurich at the time.

Wezosal was arrested two weeks ago by United States officers at the request of the Russian government. His bail on a forty-days continuance was fixed originally at \$10,000, but on being reduced to \$5,000 through the pleas of District Attorney French of Attorney Joseph Michelman, it was furnished in cash by fellow countrymen in Boston.

His bail came from small shopkeepers, tailors, and laborers in Boston, some of whom drew upon their savings.

Wezosal is to address a Faneuil Hall meeting on September 9th.

Send all contributions to the Political Defense League, temporary treasurer, Frank Bohmbach, 35 Chestnut avenue, Jamaica Plain, Mass.  
Boston, Mass., August 25.—The Lettish Socialist organizations of Boston and vicinity held a large protest meeting last Saturday in behalf of Julius Wezosal, who has been arrested by United States authorities at the instigation of the Russian government. The meeting was called to put Wezosal's case before the public and to urge all liberty and justice loving peo-



## WEALTH AND BRAINS

**RICH HIRE MEN OF CAPACITY TO PRODUCE THEM TOWERING FORTUNES.**

"If your boy shows symptoms of possessing brains, teach him to suppress all evidence of their existence, or at least to apply them to some harmless avocation only. Otherwise you expose him to risk of almost certain failure in life. In the case of a girl the matter is less serious, because she will probably be snubbed into conformity with the less intellectual of her sex." Such is the advice which Tudor Jenks gives in the Aug. 17 issue of the Independent, in an article of his dealing with the remuneration which brainworkers receive. Jenks distinctly and correctly disputes that the men of wealth are the men of brains.

"I have heard a prosperous man," says Jenks, "pretend to minimize the gulf between himself and a bright young fellow by the time-honored saying, 'You carry your capital under your hat!' But only the very green can take these fine words as butter for their parsnips. The unsophisticated may yet have to learn that of all wares fetched to the world's market places there is none cheaper than brains, all things considered; none so difficult of manufacture and maintenance as that is nearly so abundant. Brains are, a drug in the market."

"The ablest men of a community, those who create the ideas that develop into purposes, plans, accomplishment—why are not these the men who secure the fruits of their brain work?" "It is true that we must define our terms. We must fairly establish the fact we are trying to explain."

"Admitting that some men of wealth, of power, of position owe their success to brains, it is enough to prove our case that the two classes—the wealthy and the brainy—do not at all coincide. The men of money are not the men of brains, and vice versa. The world's brains are in the heads of the men who do the work: the engineers, lawyers, divines, doctors, editors, writers, teachers, artists, inventors, advertisers. These our common speech recognizes as the 'brainworkers.' They make our civilization and maintain it. Men of business, of affairs, succeed rather by employing the brainworkers than by their own head work, as will be appreciated by all who will consider the relative worth of capital, of brains and of labor in the business world."

"Give me the cash and I can hire the

brains' is so common a saying that it is never disputed, and always accepted as a general principle of business success.

"Brain-workers do not control the acquisition of money; they do not form the large majority among millionaires; they do not occur frequently among those who own the great properties—real estate, franchises, trade combinations. Even where credit for superior brainwork is given to the millionaire, it is often well known among insiders that some relatively obscure brain-worker is the power behind the throne—the hired tool of the money-maker."

"Brainy men neither control the material resources of the globe nor command the highest wages in the markets. The wealthy are those who play the part of middlemen. They are merely a tax on industry and levers of tribute. As common carriers they increase the costs of transportation and absorb the surplus; as traders they intervene between producer and consumer; as owners of monopolies they are parasites upon industry; as brokers they thrive only because industrial methods are crude or clumsy. As for speculators, they are mere gamblers; and in politics the man who grows rich must have used his position rather for his own benefit than for that of the public."

"Agriculture has until within a generation been an almost brainless industry. It owes its emancipation to Justus Liebig, and the brains now developing it into a true science and art are those of a few poorly paid experts. Fisheries bring wealth only to capitalists or monopolists; the workers at the art and the science are alike earning little but a livelihood. The same thing is true of mining and of manufactures, while discovery and invention are notably profitable only to the exploiters."

"So much for the material side of life; and in the intellectual pursuits the fortune of the mental worker is poverty, either actual or relative. Historian, poet, teacher, theologian, composer, chemist, all are put to it to support their families exactly in proportion to their devotion and single-mindedness in their chosen work."

"Everywhere, if we are guided by the price they command from men of affairs, we find that brains are cheap forms of power, for they are mainly either motive power or lubricants."

### A WORLD THAT IS POSSIBLE NOW

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth. I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race. I see a world at peace adorned

with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth—a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl in trying to win bread with the needle—the needle, that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame. I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless stony stare, the piteous wall of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn. I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair; the married harmony of form and function—and, as I look life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

### TEN CENT BOOKS

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## INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, WHAT IS IT?

**ITS FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES: THE IRREPRESSIBLE CLASS STRUGGLE, THE INDISPENSABLE CLASS UNION, THE INDUSTRIAL FORM OF ORGANIZATION, AND THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

**FIRST**—It accepts the principle that the interests of the working class and of the employing class are irreconcilably opposed. In accepting this principle, the Industrial Unionist gives the lie to the notion which dominates the ordinary trade or craft union, namely that the interest of the two classes are harmonious.

That the poverty of the working class is due to the fact of labor power being a commodity is becoming increasingly evident. The workingman's wages are simply the price of the commodity he must sell to the employers in order to live, and this price represents only a very small portion of the wealth produced by him in the service of the capitalist class. Modern society is made up of wage workers, who perform all the necessary labor, and capitalist owners of the means of life, who appropriate the bulk of Labor's product. The interests of the two sections are not the same. The one toils and produces, the other idles and appropriates. The one receives wages enough only to enable it to work, the other pays wages out of previous surplus produce, and gets them back a hundred fold. The one has no means of production, the other has all the means of production. The working class alone is necessary, and should rule society and industry, the capitalist class is unnecessary, and should, therefore, be abolished. Between the two there exists a CLASS STRUGGLE, continuous and bitter. Capitalism is organized to obtain its way, while Labor's ranks present the appearance of a disorganized rabble, trades unionism helping the confusion by keeping the workers divided along craft lines. Industrial unionism seeks to organize and unite all wage earners in order to pursue the Class Struggle to an end intelligently and relentlessly.

**SECOND**—Industrial Unionism holds that there should be one union for all workers. Only by this means can the encroachment of the capitalist class upon the subsistence of the worker be met. The necessity for a single union is rendered imperative by the economic conditions of our time. Modern industry has given rise to a set of conditions wherein several trades or crafts become united under the sway of one capitalist master or group of masters. A large industrial plant may be owned by one man, but where such a plant involves the work of different sorts of craftsmen, these craftsmen (where unions exist) are divided not united. It is a common thing for half a dozen unions to be represented in one establishment. Furthermore, throughout the departments of production to-day it will generally be found, that where different groups of men are arranged, or, rather, divided in different unions, each union enters into an agreement that conflicts with the agreements entered into by almost every other union. One trade signs an agreement that will expire in January, another union will accept one binding them until March, while another body will tie itself up till November, and so on. Thus unionism of the old style has brought about a state of almost inextricable confusion. Whenever one trade section goes on strike, the other sections in the same industrial department remain at work, and thus help the employers to defeat the efforts of their fellows on the street.

Industrial Unionism seeks to organize the workers into a union which is designed to embrace every industry in the land. What we aim at is not a TRADE but a CLASS union; not a loose federation of craft unions, but a single union under a single constitution, and composed of Industrial Departments, each of which shall include many and close-related grades of labor. Under such a form of organization an injury to one will be regarded as an injury to all, and rightly so. The capitalists strive to drive the wages of the workers to the standard of the lowest paid man, and strive to depress the wages of the lowest paid man still lower. The cost of female labor becomes the standard to which the cost of male labor continually tends. The Industrial Union would permit of and promote the strike of a whole industry, embracing many crafts, or, if necessary, the strike of a whole series of industries, in order to defend the workers or to promote their interests. The Industrial Union is a class union.

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**THIRD**—The advocates of Industrial Unionism hold that the ultimate and never to be forgotten object of the workingmen's industrial movement must be to seize, and to hold as their collective property, all the means of production. Capitalism, even for the highest paid worker, is a system of robbery and a social crime. Its main feature, private or class ownership of the materials and instruments of production, is the outcome of successive acts of thefts by the ruling class of the past, and is the means whereby the capitalists force the workers to hand over their labor power for a pittance. Capitalism condemns the worker to the life of a slave, whose burden becomes heavier, and whose reward grows ever smaller. Never will the workers be master of their product until they are master of the tools. To that consummation society must move. Rapidly and inevitably the industries of the land are becoming centralized in fewer and fewer hands, while the labor of the wage slaves in field and factory, in workshop, mill, and mine, becomes more co-operative and interlined than ever. Industrial Unionism prepares the way for and lays the sure foundation of the Socialist Republic, by producing a working class industrially organized throughout the length and breadth of the land and round the globe. Industrial Unionism combines the workers that they may run the plants themselves, that they may directly control the various industries under the truest forms of democracy. Under the new economic regime, the central directing authority will be a Parliament of Industry, composed of representatives of the various departments of production and will be elected from below. It is the historic work of the Industrial union of the working class to rear that Parliament of Industry.

**FOURTH**—Industrial Unionism, based as it is on the fact of the class struggle, promotes the Political Unity of Labor by achieving Labor's Industrial Unity. The new union will establish itself simply as the economic organization of the working class it will proclaim the necessity for political as well as industrial unity, it will marshal the workers on the field of industry, and, by that means, raise their ability for unified action against capital in the arena of politics.

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## CHARITY

Translated from the French of Paul Lafargue for The People by F. B. Guarnier.

(Continued.)

### IV.—Charity of the Bourgeois.

The bourgeoisie, in order to increase its fortune, which is an accumulation of thefts committed on wage labor, needs have at its disposition a large army of free and disorganized workers, without protection of any sort, and sufficiently poor to be forced to sell their labor-power at a vile price. It systematically has freed the workers from feudal oppression, has destroyed their guilds and the little shelter which religion offered them.

The holidays of the Catholic Church which, with the Sundays, brought up to 90 the number of days of rest, that is to say, to an average of 2 per week, during which under the ancient regime work was prohibited, put obstacles to the exploitation of the workers, and the distributions of soup and food which several convents continued to practice, to some extent formed a complement to the wages they received for the four days of the week in which they were allowed to be exploited.

Protestantism, in order to please the bourgeois masters of industry, who were very numerous in its ranks, in the name of religion condemned alms-giving and abolished the saints in heaven so that on earth the days of rest observed for them could be suppressed. The revolution of 1789 did better. Reformed religion had retained Sunday as a day of rest, but the bourgeois revolutionaries, finding that a day of rest out of seven was too much, substituted the decade for the week, so that the day of rest occurred only every ten days, and in order entirely to bury the memory of the holidays, they replaced in the republican calendar the names of saints with those of metals, plants and animals. The law of Vendemiaire 24th, Year II, made a crime of alms-giving.

Political economy, this other intellectual expression of the material interests of the bourgeois class, seconded reformed religion in all its attacks against provident institutions useful to the working class; and the provisions of grain made by the municipalities, the regulation of the price of food, and the Casa Annunziata, a type of provident institution, linked by paganism to the papacy, were the objects of the bitter criticisms of the Physiocrats, of Condorcet, of the Abbot Galiani, etc., who had become preachers of freedom in the commerce of grain, which Necker compared to the biggest gambling table that could be established, for, "with a single million (francs) a whole nation could be starved."

Meantime modern production, which, in order to develop, must find low-priced labor-power in abundance, and for which the bourgeois revolutionaries transformed the conditions of life of the workmen and abolished the guilds and provident institutions of the ancient regime, had created, since entering on the scene, an overpopulation of workers to whom it could not guarantee work, their sole resource. The number of vagabonds and beggars, one of the unhealable sores of "civilization," had become so large that in France during the XVI century it was necessary to enact cruel punishments against them; they were sentenced to be whipped or branded or hung; and these punishments were renewed during the revolutionary period of the XVIII century. The law of Vendemiaire, year II, of which we have spoken above, compelled the beggar to reside in his community, which had to establish shops where he could find work, and if he quit, he was sentenced to hard labor in prison, and in case of a second offense, to relegation on the island of Madagascar. Under Louis XV stations of mendicity had to be opened, which were veritable prisons, where the vagabonds were maltreated so that they might become disgusted with their wandering life. The same phenomenon of overpopulation of workers occurred in England, and as, notwithstanding the most barbarous repression, the waves of vagabonds and beggars put out of work by the transformation of arable into pasture lands continually grew larger in this country of Protestant reform, chastisements had to be replaced by charity, and under Queen Elizabeth the Poor Laws were decreed, which imposed on each and every parish that it take care of its poor. These laws are still in existence, and they accomplish the paradoxical result of bourgeois charity by which the burden of the sustenance of the poor falls on the shoulders of the poor. Thus, for instance, the rich parishes of London, the dearthness of whose rents expels the poor from their houses, do not pay the poor taxes, while the districts where workmen live in crowded conditions are heavily taxed to help the poor. The bourgeoisie created the poor in order to get cheap labor-power, and when the poor exceeded the numbers which it could profitably employ, it drove them away from the cities

or relegated them to the communes of their origin, or sentenced them to prison or corporal punishment, thus making a crime of the misery which no longer was productive of riches for it.

The question of the poor took a serious character during the early days of the revolution of 1789. Bailly, who had just been elected mayor of Paris, in order to solace the misery of the workmen whom the political crisis had thrown on the street, gathered 18,000 of them and penned them as wild beasts on the hill of Montmartre, and the conquerors of the Bastille kept watch over them with cannon, the wicks of which they kept burning. This conduct of the bourgeois revolutionaries, engaging in the struggle for the "enfranchisement of mankind," as they said, announced to the working class the treatment that they could expect from the victorious bourgeoisie. But when it was necessary to appeal to the courage of the popular masses, in order to resist the coalesced European monarchies, the bourgeois revolutionaries had to put off to another time the use of force to keep them in respect, and solemnly promised to distribute to the soldiers of the Republic a thousand million francs of the goods of the emigrants, and cajoled the poor with the demagogical declamation of the Fathers of the Church and of the Bishops of Constantinople and Alexandria. Eight months after the vote on the law of Vendemiaire, year II, which they did not dare to put in force, on the 22nd of Floreal, year II, Barere, in the name of the Committee on Public Safety, read to the Convention a report on "the extirpation of mendicity . . . which is a perambulating accusation and a living denunciation against the government. . . The tableau of mendicity has been on earth till now but the history of the property holders' conspiracy against the proletariat." While the members of the National Convention gave as a pretext to the poor high-sounding phraseology, they took possession of the goods of the clergy and of hospices which belonged to the poor, parceled and distributed to the proprietors the communal goods, the suppression of which increased the number of farm hands driven to mendicity. If the war had not enrolled and dispatched to the frontiers by the thousands the workers and peasants out of work and devoid of means of existence, we should have witnessed in France a great uprising of the town and country people. . . . War was a more efficacious means of getting rid of the poor than crowding them in Montmartre and setting on them the guns of the vanquishers of the Bastille, which had been metamorphosed into watchdogs of the rising bourgeoisie order.

The revolution accelerated the march of industrial development. The bourgeoisie, profiting by the freedom acquired through the suppression of wars, guilds and obstacles of all sorts which the ancient regime put against commerce and industry, established manufacturing and enlarged the existing ones. It acquired a craving for working flesh, which was keener because the war had swept off a considerable number of adult and able bodied workmen. Because of the shortage of men, it fell upon the children, whose employment in industries the now destroyed guilds had theretofore prevented. Before the Revolution, children more than 14 years old could not be exploited in the manufacturing, and those less than 14 to be found in them were very few. The employment of many children of 14 in the manufacture of wall papers at Revillon had aroused the anger of the workers of the District of Antoine, who burned the factory when they were going to Paris to the election of deputies to the States General of 1789. The question of work as well as that of misery demanded attention at the beginning of the Revolution. The children of working families and of artisans not sufficing for industrial consumption, the orphans and children recovered by public charity were utilized. "La Decade," the "philosophical, literary and political organ" of the ideologists and of the economists, notes as a triumph of philanthropy that Boyer-Frere, brother of the member of the National Convention, "proprietor of a very large manufactory at Toulouse has obtained authorization to choose 500 children from the hospices and to employ them in his shops. . . In this way he has associated with his manufactories the hospices of Toulouse, Montpellier and Carcassonne and neighboring towns." (Vendose 20th, year VI). The industrial exploitation of boys and women, which destroys the workers' families, is one of the triumphs of philanthropy.

Cheaply to feed the workers in order to lower their wages, was one of the philanthropic preoccupations of the manufacturers and of the economists of the eighteenth century. Grain, according to them, was a food too dear for the workers, and they welcomed with joy Parmentier's potatoes. J. B. Say

thought a better find had been made in the banana. 18

The "Decade" of Germinal 10th, year VIII, advised the accomplishment of more economical feeding of the masses by replacing "wheat and rye bread with bread to be made from flour of barley, oats, maize, spelt, Windsor beans, potatoes and chestnuts." If the French people will calmly and without class prejudices study the Revolution, they will perceive that some of the ideas which have formed its grandeur have come from Switzerland, where the bourgeoisie already had taken possession of power. It is from Geneva that A. P. de Candolle imported the "economical soups," which made a hit in revolutionary Paris because they "procured to the small craftsmen a healthy and agreeable nourishment." "The Directors of the manufactories," writes the "Decade," "had to install in their shops large kettles of soup in order to feed their workmen, with evident benefit to both the latter and themselves. The sensible man is not alone in rejoicing over the benefits of such institution; the politician perceives that by assuring to the poor a not very expensive nourishment, the tranquility of the State is insured." (Nivose 20th, year VIII). Count Rumford, who was surnamed "the minister of humanity," was at the head of a committee which established economical soups in the district St. Antoine and in other quarters of Paris. The dry and hardened Volney could not help being moved on seeing "this gathering of men, having honorable positions, giving themselves to the management of a kettle of soup." ("Decade," Primaire 10th, year X.) This is what abated the promises and the demagogic phraseology of the Convention. Philanthropy, the name of which did not appear in the French language till about the middle of the eighteenth century, made its triumphal entrance in revolutionary France to replace Christian charity.

J. B. Say in his "Economie Politique" (Book I, Ch. XVII) with complaisance explains the superiority of bananas, stating that a piece of land which produces 100 thousand kilograms of bananas, produces only 2,400 kilograms of potatoes and 800 kilograms of wheat; that a half hectare planted in Mexico with bananas can nourish more than fifty persons, while the same area in Europe planted with wheat hardly feeds two persons. The potato cultivated in Italy and England since the XVII century, did not come into popular use until the first half of the XIX century.

(To be concluded next week.)

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# SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY REPORT

TO THE INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST CONGRESS : : :

To the International Socialist Congress  
of Copenhagen,  
August-September, 1910.

Greeting:—The report of the Socialist Labor Party to the comrades of the world, assembled in the International Congress of Stuttgart, 1907, after reviewing the situation of the country, summed up its many sides in these words:

"The dream that our people have so long been fondled in, concerning the de-lightfulness and the stability of capital-ist institutions in America, is fast evaporating; the dream concerning the efficacy of pure and simple Unionism, that is, of a Unionism grounded on 'fraternal relations between Capital and Labor,' together with the companion dream of pure and simple political Socialism, that is, of the Socialism that marches to the ballot-box unopposed by the might of the Industrial organization of the Working Class,—this double dream also is lifting from the public mind."

In this report, to the comrades assembled this year at Copenhagen, the Socialist Labor Party feels it unnecessary to amplify what was said three years ago with regard to the dreams, concerning the de-lightfulness and stability of capitalist institutions in the land. On this head, the developments that have taken place since then, however marked they may be, pale into insignificance when compared with the developments that these three short years have brought forth on the subject of the other dream. The Socialist Labor Party believes no better aid can be given the comrades of foreign countries in understanding the trend of things in the United States than to devote full space to the facts that are causing the dreams of pure and simple Socialism to lift from the public mind, and thereby to elucidate the policy of the S. L. P. This report will confine itself to this head, all the more so in light of the fact that, by latter dated Chicago, August, 1909, the Socialist Party demanded from the International Bureau both the American seats on the Bureau for itself, to the exclusion of the Socialist Labor Party.

The United States is traversing an epoch of utter demoralization. The moral bonds that should hold society together are in a state of solution. Here and there in Europe one reads of an act of moral turpitude in governmental and other ruling circles. Here the phenomenon is of daily occurrence. Some of the highest financial and mercantile institutions of the land have been convicted of fraud towards the Government, others of fraud towards customers; prominent individuals of the ruling class stand smirched, not a few of these escaping the burden of disgrace by suicide; "aristocratic" Government officials are being exposed as bribe-takers, speculators and criminals of various degrees; "the family," that alleged palladium of bourgeois morality, is daily having the curtain lifted over itself by divorce suits that are not always printable; treachery in all the walks of life is daily uncovered; "cleverness," meaning the practices of the sharper, is rampant.

Where such is the standard above, the standard below can not be much better. The evil example spreads in all directions. Needless to say that under such conditions ignorance of their class interests and a conduct matching such ignorance, characterizes the working masses. The excellent series of letters on the American Labor Movement, published in the Stuttgart "Metallarbeiter-Zeitung" in the course of the last two years from the pen of that enterprising paper's special agent "Chagrin," overtook the picture not at all. The profound lack of information on the part of the working class, their lack of solidarity, the absence of class consciousness in their organizations, the vanity that pervades them, the extent to which they are under the control of the employer, the corruption that gnaws at their bones—all this, sketched with the accuracy of the observer who has eyes to see, and which is a reflex of the moral standard of the class above, is faithfully reproduced in "Chagrin's" letters.

The problem presented by such a state of things was grappled by the Socialist Labor Party with a policy of uncompromising, rigidly consistent and persistent agitation, education and organization, pursued unwaveringly, regardless of the extent to which it flew in the face of prevalent, and darling errors, and of the hostility which such policy aroused from the material interests that clustered around the error. One example taken from many will illustrate the point.

There is hardly a superstition more dear to the popular mind in the United States than that of Anti-Immigration, nor is there any more benumbing to the Proletarian Movement. It is a superstition of multiple fascination. It fascinates the whole population, even the immigrant population, with the flattering

sense of superiority to all outside nationalities. It fascinates the proletariat by furnishing them with what seems to be a certain explanation of the cause of their decline, and a plausible method to arrest the decline; it fascinates the capitalist class because the Anti-Immigration cry conceals, as none other does, from the proletariat's eyes the fact that the private ownership of the ever more improved plants of production overstocks the labor-market with ten proletarians for every one who overstocks the market through immigration. The Anti-Immigration cry, moreover, fascinates the capitalist class for another and more sweeping reason, a reason peculiarly applicable to America:

In England, in Germany, in France, in any country whatever, outside of the United States, an issue that directly or indirectly suggests a differentiation of races will fail to fracture the country. In those countries immigrants are few; the bulk of the nation may be said to be homogeneous, substantially so. Otherwise in the United States. Here all nations, almost all races, are represented, and in numbers not a few. Let any issue be raised suggestive of degrees in desirability, and the immediate consequence is that, with each of the nationalities now in the land, the latent, long cultivated and interested superstitions of superiority above all other races will forthwith begin to pulsate. The Immigration Question is such an issue. Immigration can not be curtailed except upon the principle that the present population of the land is superior to the element excluded. The myth of being the elect of God; a myth that has rocked the cradle of every race; a poison that is in the system of all nationalities—that myth will start buzzing in the ears, that poison will forthwith become active in the veins of all the nationalities now here. At first the myth will buzz in the collective American ear; the poison will assert itself in the collective American veins; by an inevitable law of cause and effect, myth and poison will presently be buzzing and pulsating in the individual ears and the individual veins of each separate nationality. The final effect is to fracture the land into all its component and not yet merged populations. Obviously, Anti-Immigration tears up the ground upon which the solidarity of the country's proletariat must take a footing. Obviously Anti-Immigration agitation is of all issues the dearest to the capitalist heart.

The all around popularity of the Anti-Immigration issue notwithstanding, the Socialist Labor Party took and maintains a firm stand against it. As with this so with one and all the other issues—"contracts," "taxation," "limitation of membership," "high initiation fees," etc.—imbedded in superstitions, and interested love, and the uprooting of which the Socialist Labor Party holds is a condition sine qua non for a healthy Socialist Movement in the land.

As far as the test of votes is concerned, the S. L. P. can show no success for its policy. On the contrary. Its last presidential vote fell down to 14,000 from the 34,000 polled in 1904, considerably below the presidential vote of four years before; and, although at last year's election its vote rose again in some localities, it fell off in others, leaving its vote status unchanged.

In then the Socialist Labor Party policy a mistaken one, to be abandoned in the interest of the Socialist Movement? If such were the conclusion furnished by all the facts in the case, the Socialist Labor Party would, with the same abnegation with which it has hitherto upheld its banner, fling it away, and adopt a course more promising. It is, however, towards the answer of this very question that the events of the last three years have contributed valuable material.

Diametrically opposed to the Socialist Labor Party policy is the policy of the Socialist Labor Party's rival, the Socialist party. On the very question of Immigration, as the reports of the last two International Congresses record, the Socialist party posture of opposition to freedom of immigration is in line with the wrongful posture of the vast majority of Unions on the subject. As in the matter of Immigration, so with all these other and vital issues. The S. P. contrasted its policy with that of the S. L. P.—the S. L. P. was pronounced "intolerant," the Socialist party was tolerant; the S. L. P. was pronounced "narrow," the S. P. broad; the S. L. P. "hostilized the Unions," the S. P. "gained their sympathy"; in short, the S. L. P. "isolated" itself from the proletariat, the S. P. "attracted them." The S. P. theory sounded plausible. At any rate it deserved testing. The test overthrew the theory.

At the start—between the years of 1900 and 1904—the vote of the Socialist party seemed to give a handle to the

belief that that party had struck the correct road. Its vote rose above 400,000 in the land. The object of this report being to convey to the comrades abroad a reliable picture of things American, we would be justified at this place to quote the words of Engels, with regard to the upflaring and straw-fire votes of America, in a conversation that Engels had with the delegate of the Socialist Labor Party on the steamer which took the delegates of the Zurich International Congress of 1903 to the island of Ufenau. Let the quoting, at this place, of Engels's observation be cause for useless irritation to our Socialist party rival, we shall leave Engels unquoted, and here merely say that no persons at all versed in American affairs took that "big vote" seriously. Since then, the recurring election returns have, from year to year, been giving more precise information. Already before, but more markedly at the presidential election of 1908, beginning with the great industrial center of New York City, the Socialist party vote dropped heavily in almost all the industrial centers of the land. The significant sociologic lesson taught by the detailed figures was, however, concealed by the total vote which recorded a gain of about 12,000 due mainly to a rural vote which meant nothing. Last year's elections removed the concealment. Arithmetically, as well as sociologically, the lesson was read in unmistakable tones. The total vote dropped heavily, and not in almost, but in all the industrial States and centers of the land. What the measure of the drop was all along may be gathered from the circumstance that at the Congress election of 1908 the Socialist party candidate in the 9th N. Y. Congress District lost 1,000 votes roundly, falling below one-half the vote which the S. L. P. alone had polled in that very district twelve years before. Similarly in the 16th Assembly District of New York. In 1898, before the existence of the Socialist party, the Socialist Labor Party candidate was about 1,000 votes within election, polling over 2,300 votes. Since the advent of the Socialist party, the candidates of the two parties combined in that district do not poll one-third of that vote. A still more instructive instance was the Socialist party vote in New York City. Here, in New York City, proper, the leading industrial center of the country, a locality, within which the Socialist party has a German daily, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" fully a generation old, besides a Jewish and English daily press—here the S. P., after having reached the high water mark of 16,472 votes in 1904, came gradually down until it dropped to 6,811 last year. In New York City, proper, the combined vote of the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party last year was 7,624—or 2,469 less than the Socialist Labor Party alone polled eleven years before, when it was the sole party of Socialism. Mutatis mutandis, what has happened in New York City, proper, happened in the rest of the industrial centers of the land. The S. P. does not enjoy the support of the proletariat of America. Nor does the sweeping victory of the Social Democratic party, won last April at the municipal election in Milwaukee, at all affect matters. The conditions that favored the sudden overturn in Milwaukee were purely local, transitory and arising wholly from capitalist political feuds, and the posture of the Social Democratic party in that city's municipal campaign may be judged from the statement given out after election by Mr. Victor L. Berger of that party: "Not even the money interests need have any fear during the Socialist regime; everybody will get a square deal." All the other spring elections, from Chicago down, held this year, confirmed the law of Socialist party decline in votes.

Decisive though the election figures may seem, still may they, as figures often are, be the subject of different conclusions. There is, however, one event that leaves no room for doubt, or discussion. Among the persons best qualified to know the situation of the Socialist party, and who would surely not slander it, is Mr. A. M. Simons, long a member of the S. P. National Executive Committee. Only three months after the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party (with Mr. Simons as one of its members, and in its letter applying to the International Bureau for both the American seats on the Bureau) declared publicly that the Socialist Labor Party "has neither support nor influence in the labor movement of this country," and claimed these merits for the Socialist party exclusively,—only three months later, the same Mr. Simons, and still a member of the National Executive Committee of his party, in a letter written by him to Mr. Wm. English Walling, dated last November 10, and published in the Socialist party organ, the Chicago "International Socialist Review" for Jan-

uary of this year, sums up, for private consumption, the status of his own, the Socialist party, in these words: "The S. P. has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage-workers of America. It has become a party of two extremes. On the one hand are a bunch of intellectuals, like myself and Spargo, Hunter and Hillquit; on the other is a bunch of 'never-works,' demagogues and would-be intellectuals, a veritable 'lumpen-proletariat.' The actual wage-workers, the men who are really fighting the class struggle are outside." And the opinion is confirmed by an incisive statement of fact made to Keir Hardie during his recent visit to America, by another Socialist party man himself, and quoted by Keir Hardie in the London "Socialist Review" for April of last year, to wit, that during the last ten years no trade Unionist of any standing in this city has been brought into the Socialist party.

In other words, upon the testimony of Mr. Simons, confirmed by the election returns, and upon the testimony of the election returns, luminously explained by Mr. Simons, that has happened to the policy of the Socialist party which theory, ten years in advance, foretold would happen. The echoing by the Socialist party of the errors and superstitions of Gompers-Unionism did not cause the uninformed proletariat to consider themselves Socialists, it caused them to consider the Socialist party Gompers-Unionist; it did not cause the Gompers-Unionism to come over to the Socialist party on election day, it caused the Gompers-Unionism to expect to see the Socialist party come over to them on election day, and join them in the support of their several capitalist, or of their independent "Labor Party" candidates; but, seeing that the S. P. did not, and that it opposed them at election, it caused the Gompers-Unionism to utter themselves in terms of contempt for the Socialist party, which they considered had deserted them, notwithstanding it had found no fault with, but had upheld their views.

In sight of all these facts—the fact that the uncompromising policy of the Socialist Labor Party does not seem to materialize in votes, and the fact that the compromising policy of the Socialist party leaves it likewise "isolated,"—is, then, the conclusion which the facts point to that the Socialist Movement has struck an *impasse* in America? Not at all. There is a third fact to take into consideration. That third fact unrolls a circumstance that, probably, no other country has ever witnessed. When the Socialist Labor Party was the sole representative of Socialism in the land, eleven years ago, the Party polled a voting strength of over 83,000 votes. At that time it was a rare occurrence for the bourgeois press at all to mention the name of the Socialist political party of the proletariat; and, when mentioned, it was still rarer to have the party mentioned except with hostility. A sudden change came over the bourgeois press when the Socialist party set up its rival standard. The Socialist Labor Party continued to be ignored, or mentioned in hostile language; the Socialist party, on the contrary, became a popular subject. It was constantly on the tapis. Daily papers and magazines contained write-ups about it; gave pictures of its leading men; and such was the enthusiasm over the S. P. that the incident even occurred of a railway line issuing a huge placard announcing special rates, and thereby offering special inducements, for the public to go and hear a Socialist party speaker. Nor were these articles simply "news." In most instances the information was emphasized that the Socialist party was "the friend of the Unions," while the S. L. P. was angrily referred to as "a Union smasher." There was a striking unanimity between the S. P., its press and the bourgeois press to represent as opposition to all Unionism the opposition directed against that system of Unionism which the National Civic Federation took under its wings as its pet; which the capitalist publication, the New York "Wall Street Journal," candidly praised as "the bulwark of American capital"; and which the Berlin "Vorwaerts" a year ago (August 8, 1909), justly characterized as "dead wood" (duerres Holz). It should need no argument to prove what, under the conditions of the land, the effects of such a phenomenal propaganda in behalf of the Socialist party were bound to be. The affiliation of the Socialist party with Gompers-Unionism was exemplified by the Socialist party itself: its adoption, as instanced in the Immigration matter, of the Gompers-Unionist Anti-Immigration views, to mention none other, was not questioned. The Socialist party's holding of such views under the colors of Socialism convinced Gompers-Unionism that its views were legitimate and sound. Above all, the tremendous advertisement

given to the Socialist party by the bourgeois press riveted the conviction upon the class-unconscious masses that the language of the Socialist party was Socialist, anti-Socialist the language of the Socialist Labor Party. One of the leading effects of all this has already been pointed out—the proletariat became riveted in its errors; they acted upon the political field agreeable to these errors by, either following their Anti-Immigration employers like sheep to the ballot-box, or, as they did in California, setting up their own Anti-Immigration and otherwise bourgeois-tainted "Labor Party"; and, in all instances, by denouncing the Socialist party for not joining them. The other leading effect could not be other but rendering the work of the Socialist Labor Party immeasurably more arduous. During the last ten years Socialist Labor Party propaganda had to beat its way in the teeth of a veritable storm, the principal bellows to which was the propaganda carried on by the bourgeois press in behalf of the Socialist party.

This phenomenal circumstance may, at first sight, seem rather to confirm than to remove the fear that the Socialist Movement has struck an *impasse*. Closely considered the facts point to the opposite conclusion. The bourgeois press will have to adopt some new manoeuvre. The old one can not be repeated. Without the existence of a party that flies the colors of Socialism, and which at the same time enjoys the esteem of the proletarians only by reason of its echoing their errors, without the existence of such a political body the bourgeois manoeuvre has no field on which to work. The admission of Mr. Simons himself that his party "has become a hissing and a by-word with the actual wage-workers of America," coupled with the significant election returns, is proof positive that such a political party, a political party combining such qualities, no longer exists. Furthermore, the expectation may not be discarded that the Socialist party, having ascertained by a ten-years' experience what its tactics come to, may discard them, and thus put an end to a feud that, however well intentioned at the start, has had for its practical result only the retarding of the Movement in America. The election returns show that the Socialist party is not absorbing the vote lost by the Socialist Labor Party. It is written in the returns that large numbers dropped away from both parties—some confused, others disheartened, and all expectant of the day when the dust of conflict will have settled, and left the situation clear.

Animated by the lofty purpose of bringing order into a society which, in the 16th Century seemed to be flying into atoms, but fearing that a rigorous adherence to moral standards in the midst of the then general social corruption would isolate and thereby incapacitate it from accomplishing its mission, the Order of Jesuits adapted itself at its birth to the dissolute standard of the people. Something of that nature guided the policy of the Socialist party. Fearing to isolate itself by a rigid adherence to Socialist principle, and thereby to incapacitate itself from organizing the masses for Socialism, the Socialist party adapted itself to the low standard that prevails. The Jesuit's policy suffered shipwreck; instead of raising the masses its immoral standard debauched them still worse, and it has itself been paralyzed. The expectation must not be discarded that the Socialist party will avoid completing the parallel, and that it will betimes pull itself out of the ruts in which it started.

After the Stuttgart Congress the Socialist Labor Party believed that a change for the better had come over the Socialist party. The Socialist Labor Party acted upon this belief. The belief was founded upon the posture of the Socialist party at the Stuttgart Congress. Thitherto the posture of the Socialist party upon the mission of Unionism was "pure and simple" political, and upon immigration was reactionary. Upon the mission of Unionism the Socialist party posture could be gathered from the Trades Union Resolution which it adopted in national convention. In that resolution the Socialist party pronounced the conduct of the Trades Unions, marked as those bodies were with the theory of "fraternal relations between Capital and Labor," a "noble waging of the class struggle," and all along the Socialist party acted upon the exclusive principle of operating upon the Unions as a pond in which to fish for votes, never upon the principle of revolutionary mission of Unionism. At the Stuttgart Congress the Socialist party supported the Trades Union Resolution there adopted, and which expressly set forth the necessity and indispensability of Unionism in the accomplishment of the revolutionary mission. As to Immigration, the Socialist party which had re-introduced at Stuttgart

in substance the Anti-Immigration Resolution which it fathered at Amsterdam, which was rejected there, and which was again rejected at Stuttgart, pledged itself, in the plenum of the Stuttgart Congress and through its representative on the International Bureau, Morris Hillquit, to abide by the Stuttgart Resolution on Immigration, although he admitted that the resolution did not meet his views. Upon these two grounds the Socialist Labor Party believed, that the change of front at Stuttgart on the part of the Socialist party would be carried out in America. Consequently, at the first session of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party after the Stuttgart Congress, held in January, 1908, the Socialist Labor Party proposed unity to the Socialist party, upon no conditions other than the principles of the International Congress—minority representation, liberal immigration and the recognition of the essential function of Unionism in the performance of the revolutionary act. THE SOCIALIST PARTY REJECTED THE OFFER.

Confirmed by the historic events, sketched above, in its duty, under the circumstances described, to hold the field unfettered; encouraged in this by the growth in the circulation of its press—the Daily and the Weekly People in English, besides its journals in several

other languages (German, Swedish, Jewish, Lettish, Hungarian and South Slavonian); emboldened by the markedly increased demand for its agitational publications; heartened by the growth and the enthusiasm of its membership throughout the land; convinced that in sight of, and just because of the general demoralization, compromise can only promote the low ebb of mental and moral powers, while only a rigid upholding of the standard of soundest sense, principle and integrity can be aidful in bringing back the flood of moral and mental uplift; aware that, at this stage of the Movement in America, the real criterion of the strength of a Socialist organization is the solidity of the foundation-work which it performs; conscious of performing this work with all the deliberation that circumstances demand and in full loyalty to the International Movement, the Socialist Labor Party serenely and confidently labors and waits.

DANIEL DE LEON,  
Representative of the Socialist Labor Party of America on the International Socialist Bureau,  
New York, May 9, 1910.

By order of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party.  
PAUL AUGUSTINE,  
National Secretary.

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## PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

## ASSASSINATIONS AND SOCIALISM

From a Speech by August Babel,  
Delivered at Berlin.

Translated from the German by  
BORIS REINSTEIN.

PRICE: FIVE CENTS.

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25 City Hall Place, New York.

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

## HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members at large, may proceed as follows:

1. Seven or more persons may form a "Section," provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and they belong to no other political party.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find six others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members-at-large by signing an application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., and answering other questions on said application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application cards for the use of individual members as well as all other information apply to the undersigned, Paul Augustine, National Secretary, 28 City Hall Place, New York City.



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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.  
In 1888 ..... 2,068  
In 1892 ..... 21,157  
In 1896 ..... 34,564  
In 1900 ..... 74,191  
In 1904 ..... 34,172  
In 1908 ..... 14,237

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1910.

To think that you are able by social  
disapproval or other coercive means to  
crush a man's opinion, is as one who  
should fire a blunderbuss to put out a  
star.

—JOHN MORLEY.

## LEGISLATIVE POWER.

Whenever the workers seem about to  
break away from the capitalist parties,  
in an endeavor, no matter how absurd,  
to help their own interests politically,  
up from all shades of capitalists rise  
howls upon the reprehensibility of trying  
to bring about "class legislation,"  
warnings that legislation "can not make  
riches" etc., etc. Now we see the in-  
surgent Republicans denying all this by  
bending every effort to capture the legis-  
lative powers, and for what?—to go  
rainbow chasing? By no means. They  
want possession of the legislative powers  
to insure their prosperity, to relieve  
themselves of tax burdens, and preserve  
themselves from ruin.

The insurgent movement gives an idea  
of how the trusts are squeezing the  
lesser interests, and it is legislation that  
plays an important part in the strangling.  
The insurgents want the tariff revised,  
to the extent at least of removing the  
protection now afforded the "notorious  
trusts"; they favor an income tax, to  
"adjust the burdens of taxation among  
the people"; they advocate an inheri-  
tance tax, so as to return "to the people"  
a part of the "swollen fortunes" of the  
"predatory class," "unrighteously" ob-  
tained; they want governmental control  
of gigantic combinations, that "oppress  
the people," etc., etc.

The big interests work the tariff game  
both ways: they are free traders in raw  
material, high protectionist in their  
manufactured product. Senator Aldrich,  
for example, is a stockholder in and a  
director of the Intercontinental Rubber  
Company—a Ryan-Guggenheim-Rocke-  
feller combine, which is said to be the  
biggest dealer in crude rubber in the  
world, having vast rubber interests in  
Mexico, and enjoying huge concessions in  
the Congo Basin. Their charter permits  
them to manufacture rubber goods but  
they do not. That power is kept in re-  
serve in case any rubber manufacturing  
insurgents should refuse to buy crude  
rubber from them.

Senator Aldrich's trust wants no pro-  
tection on crude rubber, but the gentle-  
man was very active in boosting the  
duty on manufactured rubber. He ad-  
mits that the manufacturers did not  
need the increase, and his excuse for the  
boost, that it simplified bookkeeping at the  
Customs Houses, is certainly unique.  
It is, of course, only an interesting  
incident that Mr. Aldrich's concern has,  
as La Follette declares, suddenly be-  
come a great dividend-payer. Perish the  
insurgent thought that the free trade  
crude rubber men slapped on a private  
tariff when passing the crude rubber  
along to the manufacturer.

It is against such "injustices" that  
the insurgents are fighting. They con-  
centrated their attack on what they  
wrongly call Cannonism. The Speaker  
of the House has the power to appoint  
all standing and select committees. The  
House committees practically determine  
legislation and only those get on them  
who are known to be acceptable to the  
interests, but the power of the Speaker  
is only a reflex of the power of the ma-  
jority party in the House. The power of  
the majority becomes, by the rules, con-  
centrated in the hands of the Speaker.  
The only way in which the insurgents  
can hope to destroy Cannonism is by  
getting the support of the votes, and  
themselves instituting their own brand  
of Cannonism.

While not legislation but labor creates  
wealth, still legislation provides oppor-  
tunities for the plundering class; it as-  
sists and safeguards them in their plun-  
dering, and is powerful in sanctioning  
wealth into the pools of the class inter-  
ests legislated for. The legislative

power, which has the appearance of  
being by the consent of the workers,  
claps the capitalist firmly in the ex-  
ploiter's saddle. Knock the power of  
legislation, of government, from the  
capitalist hand and its grasp on the eco-  
nomic power is weakened. Knowing this  
is why the capitalists do everything pos-  
sible to discourage even the semblance  
of independent political action by the  
workers.

## "SOCIALISM AND THE JEW."

Socialism will have to seek a foothold  
on Mars or some other planet, for, ac-  
cording to all the inspired mouthpieces  
of the capitalist class, no one on this  
old earth wants it. In this country So-  
cialism is said to be "contrary to the  
spirit of our institutions"; in England  
incompatible with Anglo-Saxon sturdy-  
ness; and so on all along the line of the  
nations there is said to be something  
peculiar to each that makes against  
Socialism. Now comes Charles S. Simon,  
with an article in "The Canadian Jewish  
Times," entitled "Socialism and the  
Jew," in which he declares that "So-  
cialism can make no permanent appeal to  
the Jew." The reason he gives is that  
"ownership of land has become a passion  
with the migrating Jew." The desire to  
own land may be a "passion" with peo-  
ple from Russia, the principal "home"  
of the Jews, where it is practically im-  
possible for them to own land; but if the  
"passion" to own land is so strong among  
Jews how account for the failure of even  
the heavily subsidized efforts to get the  
Jews to take up farming here? The fact  
of the matter is that the Jew is an in-  
dustrial proletarian, and the question as  
to whether the Jew of to-day would  
make a good farmer is an open one.  
Even if the Jewish proletariat had "land  
hunger" there is just about as much  
chance for them to satisfy it in Russia as  
here.

"The acquisitiveness of the Jew," says  
Mr. Simon, "his passion for land, and his  
commercial genius indicate a soil from  
which Socialism can not long receive  
nourishment." This is a wholesale ap-  
plication to a people of the wealth grab-  
bing propensities of the class typified by  
the Jacob Schiff, and his ilk among the  
non-Jews. The typical Jew is a prole-  
tarian—in America an abiding industrial  
proletarian. This is well proven by the  
present strike of the cloak makers: in  
1890 the general strike of cloak makers  
involved some ten or twelve thousand  
workers, whereas now, 70,000 are in-  
volved.

Mr. Simon depicts the Jew as march-  
ing from success to success; "but a few  
years lie between Hester street and the  
Bronx." To those who know conditions  
in this city the Bronx is but an overflow  
from the East Side Ghetto, newcomers  
pushing out the previous arrivals. The  
possible difference between Hester street  
and the Bronx is perhaps in the degree  
of poverty.

Another bright bit from Mr. Simon:  
"The Jew who, to-day, toils in the  
sweatshop, may, to-morrow, dominate  
the garment industry of a continent." Granting, for the sake of argument, the  
possibility of such a thing, what of  
satisfaction, what of promise, is there in  
that to the thousands upon thousands  
of Jews who must remain under to be  
dominated?

"Potentially," airily writes Mr. Simon,  
"the Jew is of the ranks of capital and  
not of the proletariat, whatever his  
actual condition." Strange that more  
Jews do not exercise this potentiality.  
The thing must be a myth, considering  
that here, and in the lands from which  
they come, the ranks of the Jewish prole-  
tariat are constantly on the increase.

Mr. Simon has heard of the words  
"class consciousness"; he applies them to  
the Jew in his own unique way thus:  
"Whatever class consciousness the Jew  
possesses, is born of the feeling that he  
belongs to a superior class. He is God's  
chosen people." The idea of being a  
"chosen people" has only spiritual sig-  
nificance if any. Taken in a material  
sense, it must be ironically, seeing how  
helpless the "chosen people" are in such  
countries as Russia and Roumania. So  
imbued with this "chosen people" idea  
are the Jews, thinks Simon, that their  
"pride of race has reached to arrogance.  
Rare is the Russian Jew who does not  
point with pride to descent from the  
rabbi or the scholar, and in the breast  
of the humblest of his race, echoes the  
boast of David, that his ancestors were  
priests in the Temple." That may have  
been all very well for a David, but  
pride of race and descent will not save  
the Jewish proletariat from the neces-  
sity of becoming a presser of knee pants  
for a dollar a day in New York. Nor  
does pride of race give him the remotest  
chance of rising to the ranks of the  
upper class.

Another Simon pure gem is that, "op-  
posed to Socialism is also the undisputed  
optimism of the Jew"; as a matter of  
fact there can be optimism for the  
Jewish proletariat only in Socialism,  
which will free him, along with his fel-  
low proletarians of other races, from the  
thrall of capitalism.

Mr. Simon, fearing perhaps that his  
capitalist optimism will not even lead  
to the mental exaltation of his readers,

has another card up his sleeve, so to  
speak. It is Zionism. "In the realm of  
pure idealism, Zionism is coming more  
and more to take the place of Socialism  
in the mind of the Jew." In this in-  
stance the wish of Mr. Simon is father  
to the thought. So much has Zionism  
failed to replace Socialism that even  
many of the Zionists profess themselves  
Zionist-Socialists, and try to appeal to  
the growing Jewish proletariat with the  
promise to establish a Socialist Republic  
in Zion.

While descending on Zionism Mr.  
Simon lets the cat out of the bag. So-  
cialism, far off in the distant future,  
must first "overcome the terrible and  
powerful autocracy of the Russian Em-  
pire," while Zionism "is comparatively  
near" and to be brought about by—a  
concert of friendly powers! At one time  
the Russian government supported Zion-  
ism in the hope of thereby withdrawing  
the Jewish workmen from Socialism, but  
in that the Russian government failed.  
The Russian government found that so  
great was the power of Socialism, that  
even its championing of Zionism as a  
scheme to halt the Socialist Movement  
was of no avail. How then can Mr.  
Simon hope to make Zionism an antidote  
to Socialism?

A perusal of Mr. Simon's article can  
only lead to one conclusion, that the  
Jewish proletariat sees that the Ameri-  
can capitalist class is identical with the  
Russian autocracy, and having suffered  
under the one, and now suffering under  
the other he is not to be swerved from  
the path where lie his class interests, by  
either appeals to race, or lures utopian.  
The Jewish proletariat, the same as  
other proletarians, is coming to So-  
cialism.

## THE SHORT BALLOT.

From various quarters we hear of a  
variety of movements in favor of so-  
called popular as against delegated gov-  
ernment, the "short ballot" being the  
latest brilliant scheme evolved whereby  
to do up the political Boss and the  
political machine. The promise of the  
short ballotists is that the short ballot  
will give the citizens "easy and effec-  
tive direct control over their govern-  
ment."

Representative government is the out-  
come of large communities, the large  
communities being the result of the era  
of large production, which masses the  
workers in industrial armies. Small  
communities can have direct govern-  
ment, in the manner of the old New  
England town meeting, where all the  
voters could gather together. This  
gathering together is, however, impos-  
sible in industrial centers, hence repre-  
sentative government.

Forms of government being of neces-  
sity the reflex of the system of produc-  
tion, the industrial Boss has his coun-  
terpart in the political Boss. The business  
of the political Boss is politics. Be-  
hind all business is politics; behind all  
politics is business. Sometimes the po-  
litical Boss is a thorn in the side of the  
industrial Boss, especially when the po-  
litical Boss heavily mulcts the Corpora-  
tions for favors extended. The Cor-  
porations would gladly see the "graft-  
ing" political Boss overthrown provided  
they could still secure the vested priv-  
ileges which are the stock in trade of  
the political Boss.

The industrial Boss, seeing the close  
connection between politics, and busi-  
ness, jumps at the conclusion that there  
is no reason why he should not directly  
run the government, instead of, as he  
does, run it by his proxy, the political  
Boss. When he tries it he finds out  
that politics is a branch of business with  
which he is not familiar, and he usually  
ends up by making a muddle of trying  
to run it. Industrial tyranny, with  
which he is perfectly familiar, goes to  
wreck in the political field, where finesse  
is the method of control.

The Short Ballot organization, headed  
by a lot of dilettante reformers, ad-  
vocates that the voter select only the most  
important officers, they in turn to ap-  
point the others. This scheme, if gen-  
erally adopted, would lead to the re-  
striction of the franchise, would lead  
to government by commission. In the  
"Story of the Short Ballot Cities," is-  
sued by the Short Ballot organization,  
government by commission is lauded as  
cheap government, tax-reducing govern-  
ment, deficit-wiping-out government, etc.,  
—matters of no interest to the worker.  
Whether government is "cheap" or  
"dear" is no concern of his. He does  
not pay the costs, therefore does not  
profit, or lose, as the case may be. The  
return to the worker for his labor is,  
on the average only a subsistence wage.  
He has nothing wherewith to pay taxes.  
Under high taxes or low taxes the  
worker's position remains the same—a  
hand to mouth existence.

Hand in hand with the short ballot is  
the scheme for the elimination of  
parties. We are all supposed to have  
one interest, and only the political Boss  
and the "bad" corporation to oppose.  
Political parties arise in response to the  
class interests of those setting them up.

When they shall have seen their day it  
will be, either that the plutocracy reigns  
supreme over a cooiled working class,  
or that the working class will have  
ended the cause of all class antagonism,  
will have ended capitalism.

The Socialist does not bother much  
about the relative merits or demerits  
of this or that form in which capitalist  
government may be cast. Understand-  
ing the nature of the modern system  
of production, he sees that representa-  
tive government is one of its require-  
ments. Whatever may be done in the  
way of changes, there is, however, one  
change, against which the Socialist will  
work, tooth and nail, and that is against  
any change looking towards a curtail-  
ment of the franchise.

The short ballot scheme leads in the  
direction of restriction of the franchise.

## THE PASSING OF BLATCHFORD.

At last Robert Blatchford, "Nunquam"  
of the "Clarion," has landed. The erst-  
while sentimentalist, who robbed himself  
in the garb of Socialism, has publicly  
"given up the workingman," has es-  
poused the cause of a Big Navy for  
Great Britain, and has become a con-  
tributor to the Harmsworth publications.  
Blatchford's reward has been long in  
coming. It is many years since he elected  
the pose of Socialism, a pose that has  
proved an easier road to notoriety to  
more than one so-called "intellectual,"  
who afterwards turned his "Socialist"  
fame to profitable account in other  
ways, often the way of combating his  
previous position.

Blatchford started the "Clarion,"  
which in the course of time, it is said,  
became a profitable publication. It may  
have paid at some stage of its career,  
but there were not wanting indications  
that it had not paid of late, and this is  
borne out by Blatchford's "loss of faith"  
in the workingmen. He lost faith in the  
workers as they ceased to take any  
stock in him.

The "Clarion" propaganda consisted in  
slinging darts at vested interests and es-  
tablished religious and conventional be-  
liefs. It was a voice of lamentation,  
complaining bitterly of wrong. It be-  
came a voice crying in the wilderness  
with none to heed, save a few timid cap-  
italists who flinched at "Nunquam's" ad-  
jectives. Like all sentimentalist, Blatch-  
ford was a law unto himself. He had  
his own notions of Socialism. He looked  
for "reform" to come from the ranks of  
the "intelligent" artisan and the middle  
class. And to preserve his own indi-  
viduality he kept largely aloof from the  
organized Socialist Movement.

The passing of Blatchford is not with-  
out its lesson for the Socialist. In fact  
many "broad-minded" Socialists were to  
blame for the prominence he achieved.  
They justified winking at his idiosyn-  
crasies because of the "good" he was  
doing. Now they, who were tolerant of  
Blatchford, are damning him for the  
"evil" he has done. One point, that  
stands out clear as a pike staff in the  
lesson from Blatchford, is that Lament-  
ing alone about wrong is impotent. In  
the end it produces only contempt for  
the lamenter, and when the lamenter, as  
is the case of "Nunquam," turns tail,  
it confirms the opinion that 'tis useless to  
fight against wrong. Didn't he try and  
fail, what then can avail?

Unless it can be shown that social  
wrong is avoidable it is useless to in-  
veigh against it. Lamentation alone  
about the absence of Right and Justice  
will never establish Right and Justice.  
The workers must first be shown that  
Right and Justice CAN be made real-  
ities, and next HOW they can be made  
realities. In other words sense must be  
added to denunciation.

Again the Blatchford episode points  
once more to the danger to the Socialist  
Movement of a privately owned Socialist  
press. As difficulties arise, and they are  
bound to arise, the individualist reform  
spirit quails and looks about for succor,  
under the severe pressure not being par-  
ticular from whence it may come or the  
nature of it. Thus we see a Blatchford  
traveling the crooked road of sentiment-  
alism and landing at last in the ditch of  
capitalist journalism where he is trying  
to drag his former reading public of the  
"Clarion."

The passing of Blatchford furnishes  
one more illustration of the correctness  
of the tactics of the Socialist Labor  
Party, which neither whines nor froths  
about Right and Justice, but, fortified  
with the knowledge that material con-  
ditions to-day make possible their real-  
ization, goes forth manfully to overcome  
all that may stand in the way.

## THE UNION LABEL AND ITS BOOM-ERS.

Surely someone on the pure and sim-  
ple union label booming Socialist party  
"Call" must have nodded, otherwise that  
correspondence headed, "Tobin Whips  
Shoe Workers Into Line," would not  
have crept into its issue of August 24th.  
The article, which is dated Brockton,  
Mass., relates a tale of the usual Tobin  
tactics in dealing with members whose  
notions of a union's functions are that it  
should be a shield to labor instead of,

as they are finding it out to be, a  
shackle.

Passing over the immediate cause of  
the dispute, the revocation of the charter  
of the Stitches' Union, Tobin's finely  
drawn out decision as to the legality of  
a committee, etc., etc., we come to this  
summing up of the situation, made, the  
"Call" declares, by one of the stitches:  
"The existing situation is intolerable  
and can not last. The opinion of the  
mass of union people in Brockton is that  
they are merely paying dues to insure  
themselves reductions in wages. If the  
union stamp was to mean anything to  
us it was to protect us against down-  
ward tendencies in wages and other con-  
ditions, but now it is merely a method  
by which the manufacturers can promote  
those tendencies. In the present case  
the general executive board has defended  
and supported Alan, who, as our repre-  
sentative before the State board of ar-  
bitration, indorsed a 25 per cent. reduc-  
tion in our wages, making it possible for  
the State board to order the reduction,  
and for the manufacturer to collect thou-  
sands of dollars paid in wages since last  
March. The present critical period may  
be bridged over now, but it only means a  
more bitter struggle and fiercer revolt  
later on, and the Federation of Labor  
will have to take action soon or the  
union stamp and label will be forever  
discredited in the labor movement."

Here we have it plump and plain: the  
vaunted union label is used as a shackle  
to hold the rebellious worker chained to  
the interests of the boss.

The label and "sacred" agreement go  
together; they are the labor fakir's stock  
in trade, which he, like any other com-  
mercial drummer, markets. What shoe  
manufacturer, we wonder, has not heard  
the labor fakir's goods descanted upon  
something after this fashion: "Make a  
contract with us and we will assure you  
of immunity from all labor troubles. We  
will name a wage rate agreeable to you,  
and furnish you the men. We can con-  
trol the men in our organization. They  
will without question abide by any con-  
tract that we may make." Then, as a  
further inducement, is presented the  
"merits" of the union label—as a busi-  
ness bringer to the boss.

The whole theory that the label could  
benefit the workers is false. Under the  
capitalist system, union, the same as  
non-union labor, is bound to get its ne-  
cessaries as cheaply as possible, forced  
thereto by capitalism under which their  
wages must steadily decline. That hard  
fact scuttles the union theory that the  
label can hold wages up.

The ignorance of these facts leads to  
false reasoning with regard to the po-  
tency of the label as a working class  
weapon. In the hands of the labor fakir  
the label becomes a thing turned against  
the workers, is the mark of their union-  
ized bondage to the boss. The only one  
whom the union label benefits is the  
boss. In addition to the benefit he de-  
rives, through the label smothering re-  
bellion in the shop, he also gets the  
business of the well-to-do sentimental-  
ists who organize labor leagues.

As to the benefit of the union label to  
the workers, it is clearly stated by the  
stitcher that the "Call" article quotes:  
"If the union stamp was to mean any-  
thing to us it was to protect us against  
downward tendencies in wages and other  
conditions, but now it is merely a meth-  
od by which the manufacturers can pro-  
mote those tendencies."

The "Call" stitcher's indictment of the  
labor enslaving uses to which the union  
label is put is also an indictment of the  
label booming Socialist party. Which is  
why we say, and the reason is plain,  
that somebody nodded, when the "Tobin  
Whips Shoe Workers Into Line" article  
got into the "Call."

## SWEEPING INJUNCTION

An injunction sustaining the cloak  
manufacturers' plea that the cloak-  
makers' strike is illegal, as being in re-  
straint of trade, was granted August 27  
by Supreme Court Justice Goff in this  
city.

The decision was characterized by the  
executive committee of the manufactur-  
ers' association as the most sweeping  
ever handed down against a labor union.

In his decision Justice Goff said:  
"The primary purpose of the strike be-  
ing to drive non-union employees out of  
the trade in the borough, except on con-  
dition of joining the union, the purpose  
is against public policy and illegal."

"Violence, disorder, and threats on the  
part of members of the unions directed  
against members of the plaintiffs' asso-  
ciation and their employees should be at-  
tributed to the unions, in the absence of  
specific denials of the disorders shown in  
the moving papers, which include police  
court records, and in the absence of any  
proof that such disorderly members of  
the union have been disciplined."

"There was proof of a common law  
civil conspiracy."

"An order should be granted restrain-  
ing acts of violence—, threats, abusive  
language calculated to provoke a breach  
of the peace, picketing, and patrolling,  
but not circularizing or meetings in aid  
of the strike, no such acts having been  
threatened, and not restraining the free  
expression of opinion."

THE A. F. OF L., WHAT IT  
SAYS AND WHAT IT DOES

The A. F. of L. claims to "unite" the  
workers; nay, more, in its "open letter  
to ministers of the Gospel," it says:  
"Our mission is the redemption of the  
workers from the bondage of industrial  
slavery." Nice sounding phrases are  
these, and satisfying to some, but how  
do they work out in their application?

In the first place, it is a well-known  
fact that the A. F. of L. does not unite  
the workers. Granting the wildest  
claims of A. F. of L. officers as to  
membership, only a minority of the  
workers are organized.

The A. F. of L., as at present con-  
stituted, could not organize the workers  
even if it would. Its scheme of orga-  
nization makes no provision for the Re-  
serve Army of Labor. Hence it orga-  
nizes, not the men, but the jobs, in cer-  
tain lines of production, the lines in  
which the wages permit the paying of  
dues and assessments.

Nor does it organize, nor desire to  
organize, ALL the workers even in the  
trades "organized." It has so many  
jobs, hence it wants only so many men.  
It has no use for jobless men. It dis-  
courages them, should they seek admis-  
sion, by its high initiation fees and  
other disheartening conditions.

When it comes to "redemption of the  
workers from the bondage of industrial  
slavery" the words are used as so much  
clap trap. The A. F. of L., far from  
abolishing "industrial slavery," is com-  
mitted to the capitalist system—the sys-  
tem of wage slavery. It promulgates the  
theory that the capitalist and the  
worker are brothers; it justifies its own  
existence as the arbiter between the  
brothers, when they have spats, as brothers  
will.

The A. F. of L., except when Sammy  
Gompers makes a little incursion into  
the field of partisan politics, is non-  
partisan. That alone proves the non-  
labor character of the A. F. of L. A  
union, worth anything at all, would be  
a strict partisan of labor. Its politics  
would logically have to be the class  
conscious politics of the working class,  
Socialist politics, because it is clear that  
no other politics could, or ever would,  
promote the interests of labor.

It is clear to those who look beyond  
their noses that the A. F. of L. can  
never make good its claim to be the  
Labor Movement. Its economic and so-  
ciologic groundwork is false. It ignores  
the class struggle; the word "capital"  
is Greek to it; it knows of the nature  
of the merchandise "Labor" only in the  
sense that it does a brokerage business  
in it.

Even with "good" men such a falsely  
constructed body would go wrong at  
nearly every step. Engineered by men  
who know that they stand on a false  
basis, in so far as the interests of the  
workers are concerned, the thing must  
go wrong at every step.

A labor organization to be effective,  
must get away from the capitalist idea  
of cornering the merchandise labor power;  
it must bend its efforts toward over-  
throwing the system of industrial slav-  
ery. The A. F. of L. is really an up-  
holder of the very system from which  
it declares it is going to redeem the  
workers. It is therefore just what the  
"Wall Street Journal" acclaimed it—a  
bulwark of the existing order.

## BRITISH RULE DENOUNCED.

English Social Democrats in Statement  
Show Gov't Inconsistency.

London, August 25.—The executive  
committee of the Social Democrats has  
chosen the moment when a conspiracy  
trial is going on at Dacca, Bengal, to  
issue a manifesto denouncing British  
tyranny in India, which, it is declared,  
is going from bad to worse. Among  
other things the manifesto contains the  
following:

"All the infamies denounced by mem-  
bers of the present Cabinet when they  
were committed in Russia, Austria,  
Turkey and China are now being perpe-  
trated in Hindustan by the Asquith Gov-  
ernment. Is it to be wondered at that  
secret conspiracy and open assassina-  
tion are spreading? When free speech,  
free combination and a free press are  
suppressed, what other course is open  
to an enslaved populace?"

"Our despotism has forced the most  
peaceful and most submissive race in  
the world into an anarchist propaganda.  
India has been steadily impoverished for  
five generations by British robbery and  
extortion, and the horrors of peace have  
become far worse than the horrors of  
war."

"We will take care that this mani-  
festo is distributed in the native lan-  
guages throughout Hindustan, so the  
population will know there is an active  
and growing party here which has  
neither part nor lot in the outrages and  
crimes committed by the Government."

UNCLE SAM AND  
BROTHER JONATHAN

BROTHER JONATHAN—To me it is  
very clear that the Socialist program  
will go to smash against the moral, the  
religious and the law-abiding sense of  
the American people.

UNCLE SAM—Inasmuch as to which?  
B. J.—Inasmuch as the moral, the re-  
ligious and the law-abiding sense of the  
American people will revolt against the  
idea of confiscation.

U. S.—Confiscation? For instance?  
B. J.—The Socialists will, for instance,  
tell you point blank that they mean to  
appropriate the railroads without inden-  
mifying their owners.

U. S.—Suppose they did?  
B. J.—That is confiscation, and con-  
fiscation is an immoral, an irreligious  
and an un-law-abiding act; and no  
moral, religious and law-abiding people  
like the Americans would countenance  
such a thing.

U. S. (after a pause)—What is the  
name of the Austrian village in which  
you were born?

B. J. (very haughtily)—I want you to  
understand that not only was I born  
here and my parents, too, but all my  
four grand-parents, and all their grand-  
parents were born in this country; we  
are of pure Mayflower, law-abiding, re-  
ligious extraction, and New England  
stock.

U. S.—Then you all descend from  
the neighborhood where Bunker Hill  
Monument now stands?

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—How much indemnity did our  
ancestors pay King George when they  
took the colonies away from him?

B. J.—Indemnity!!!

U. S.—Yes, my sweet preacher of  
sweet "religiousness" and "law-abiding-  
ness,"—indemnity."

B. J.—You must be crazy.

U. S.—Were not our ancestors "re-  
ligious" and "law-abiding"?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S. Did not King George own these  
colonies?

B. J.—Guess he did.

U. S.—And were they not yanked  
away from him?

B. J.—Certainly! And wasn't that  
right?

U. S.—You see, I am a Socialist; you  
are a perambulating lump of anti-Soc-  
ialism, which is to say of "religious-  
ness" and law-abidingness." Tell me  
how much indemnity our ancestors paid  
King George for having yanked his prop-  
erty from him? According to you, for a  
people to take a thing without giving



# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## PLEASED WITH CONTENTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I and my friends have been immensely pleased with the article, "The Machine Era," published in the Weekly People of August 13. We shopworkers need such articles once in a while, to lift us above the daily strife and to enable us to view our tool-work in a different light.

H. Bahn.

Katonah, N. Y., August 23.

## SEATTLE BUILDS WELL FOR S. L. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—During the past week, with the aid of Seattle comrades, we managed to land 15 more subs for our Party papers. Seven street meetings were held to the usual good crowds, with a total sale of 91 pamphlets and 700 Daily Peoples.

Section Seattle is doing splendid work all along the line now, and with the good list of new readers secured during the past 8 weeks there is every reason to hope for new material being added to the Section.

I shall leave to-night for Pasco and Spokane, and during my stay in both places every effort will be made to boost the circulation of the S. L. P. press.

Chas. Pierson.

Seattle, Wash., August 15.

## S. L. P. HAS IT RIGHT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I have been so pleased with my last two numbers of the Weekly People that I just can't help writing you a word of encouragement and good cheer. You do certainly collect great propaganda articles. The one in the August 20 issue on Economics, explaining the law of value is exceptionally fine, and easy to understand.

It is very plain to me that the S. L. P. way of looking at things is the only way, but I can't make the boys that I work with see it that way. I work as a moulder here in a foundry where there are 75 to 100 moulders and core makers. I am the only one that stands up for S. L. P. tactics. The others are S. P. men almost to a man, and I have to fight the whole bunch. When I get hold of a good article in The People I take it up and get them or some of them to read it and then the fight is on. They want one thing at a time and say I. W. W. unionism is too far advanced; that the time is not ripe for it yet. They say that the S. P. tactics are right for "their party is growing all the time and the S. L. P. is going down all the time." Messrs. William Duffey and Gus Strebel are doing the business here and they are rounding up a typical S. P. bunch such as have been rounded up and fallen away in other places. I tell these fellows that they will have to learn Socialism all over again in the end.

F. H. Ford.

Syracuse, N. Y., August 20.

## ABSENT EXHIBITS IN ST. LOUIS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The commercial interests of this city are holding a "Made in St. Louis" show at the Coliseum. Things made and sold in St. Louis are there on exhibition. But there are some things "made in St. Louis" which are not seen, are not mentioned or even hinted at in the big show place. I shall name a few of these missing numbers here.

An average of 27 people die from consumption every week in St. Louis.

Thousands of workmen are out of jobs in St. Louis.

The cost of living keeps on going up in St. Louis.

Several women of the upper class expressed their opinion in a newspaper interview that it is impossible for a woman to dress well on \$600 a year. The ladies of the working class are in luck if they have \$20 a year to buy cheap shoddy at a bargain counter in St. Louis.

Various divisions of the capitalist class are accusing each other of being grafters in St. Louis.

The consumers are up in arms against the short-weight grocers and butchers.

A distinguished authority on sanitation came to the Mound City, looked over ground in the Ghetto, and this is what he said: "I have seen many filthy slum districts, but none as bad as seen in St. Louis."

A 12-year-old girl was found making shirts for 10 cents a day in a sweatshop in St. Louis.

The girl lost her job but the sweatshop is still blooming, and the shirts

made there are on exhibition at the Coliseum in St. Louis.

The unfortunate prostitutes are driven from district to district in St. Louis. Nobody wants them. As a prominent real estate shark expressed himself, "Their presence in any certain district lowers the commercial value of property in that district."

The divorce dockets are overcrowded in St. Louis. The babies of the rich are turned over to competent nurses who give them (the babies) every care, while the mothers enjoy themselves at the club. The babies of the poor are put in day nurseries ("charity institutions") so that the mothers may go out and make their "living" in St. Louis.

A local capitalist paper, which is advertising itself under the cloak of charity, is collecting money for a pure milk fund, claiming that the milk sold by the local dealers is impure, and that such milk if fed to the poor babies (the babies of the rich get milk from a private cow) makes them sick. But these same milk dealers have a so-called pure milk exhibition at the Coliseum in St. Louis.

The capitalist, or non-producing class, take a trip to summer resorts during the hot weather, while the real producers, the working class, keep on a-sweating in the factories to make the things on exhibition at the Coliseum in St. Louis.

The orphan homes and free hospitals are calling aloud for funds. And when the capitalist class (who are responsible for there being so many orphans and poor sick workmen) give a dollar or two to any of the charity institutions they are lauded to the skies by the sanctimonious pulpit pounders in St. Louis.

Tourists who are inclined to study economic conditions would do well to stop off at the Mound City, where they will find conditions as described above, and many other bad features of capitalism in St. Louis.

Henry J. Poelling.

St. Louis, Mo., August 20.

## SECTION PHILA.'S SPLENDID PICTURE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Philadelphia, Socialist Labor Party, had a picnic last Sunday which was an unqualified success. This, the first affair of the kind held in Philadelphia since the split, reflects great credit on the committee which made the arrangements. Savelsky, Georgevitch and Wehner particularly deserve commendation for their hard work before and during the day. Apsit, and Brickman and Beck deserve their meed of praise for what some people, to be logical, will have to call the resurrection of the "Dead S. L. P."

The several hundred people who gathered together at Emory Farm to celebrate the event enjoyed themselves to the limit amid ideal surroundings in ideal weather, and the day was such a strenuous one that our speakers were all too fatigued to enable us to hold our usual meeting on City Hall Plaza in the evening. But the inspiration gained from the meeting with so many sympathizers and friends will help us in our future work. Old timers, such as Fish, Zolot, Gay, Lieberman and others met and clasped hands with newcomers such as Fennel, Higgins, Korpanty, Lutherman, and the rest, and the steady brigade, such as Erwin, Haug, Chun, Mullen and Heine, who have fought on without flinching, never giving up hope, but strong in faith in the great destiny of the S. L. P., were greatly encouraged by the gathering. The Lettish, Hungarian, Slavonic and Jewish Federations and the German Branch (our youngest organization), were well represented, and did their share in making the affair a success.

Only one speech was made during the day. Campbell, the speaker, in a fifteen-minute talk outlined the international class nature of the S. L. P. and then the picnicers gave themselves over to enjoyment again.

It would take a whole issue (and then some) of The People to tell all the thrilling incidents of the day: how Silver fell into the creek and was rescued at the risk of her life by a mysterious and beautiful lady; how Fennel sold dogs which refused to bark; how Korpanty lost a magnificent gold watch in the Marathon race (by not winning); how Sclarowitz lost ten dollars and beat them all in the crockery smashing competition; how Miss Rantz invented a game called "two deep" which WAS too deep when it wasn't three deep, and how, after dark, McLure brought tears to the eyes of the "assembled millions" when he

sang a sentimental song. For lack of space all of these and other exciting events cannot be here recorded, but they will forever remain known and will be cherished by those who were privileged to witness them.

The event of the day was the book sale, at which the Sue stories melted like "snow off a dyke." You may look out for a brisk and increasing demand for that magnificent series as a result of that sale.

Now, comrades, there is work to do! Get busy! Observer.

Phila., Pa., August 23.

## A UNIQUE SOCIALIST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In my former communication concerning the Rev. Father Kennedy's discourse in the "Church of the Holy Spirit" in this city, I should have stated that Father Kennedy is a member of the "Paulist Fathers." If the Apostle Paul had no better means of acquiring knowledge of the sciences of his day than those accessible to Father Kennedy at the Catholic University of Washington in his study of the science of Socialism, I fear we should not now be blessed with the Paulist organization. In the past quarter century I have heard very many characteristics described as marking the make-up of a Socialist, this one by Father Kennedy is new to me. I presume the latter has in mind the Socialist demand for the abolition of the "wages system," the corner stone of modern capitalism.

I append herewith a letter from Father Kennedy that speaks for itself.

M. D. F.

Atlantic City, N. J., August 2.

(Enclosure)

Bell Phone 3186  
Coast " 1952

Rector,

606 Oriental avenue.

Rev. J. B. McCloskey, Rector  
The New Catholic Church  
Church of the Holy Spirit  
Atlantic City, N. J.

August 2, 1910.

My dear Mr. Fitzgerald,

I wish to thank you for the paper and pamphlet which you have sent me. I have not had time to read them but will within a few days.

I do not remember having mentioned Socialism in my very brief talk on Sunday, and several who were present have no remembrance of it. At any rate I am sure I had no intention of making an attack upon it. While studying at the Catholic University (Washington) I gave considerable time to Socialism, and while we must admit that there is some element radically wrong in the distribution of wealth and that a remedy is needed, I always thought that Socialism forgot the greed of human nature and promised too much of an impossible Utopia.

The remedy, if any, it seems to me lies in teaching people to live not outwardly but inwardly the Christian life. Accomplish this and you have done all that can be done to overcome the injustices of the world.

Long ago I have given up hope of perfection this side of heaven. You are, I think a little unfair in your judgment of the church, which when I read again, I find is not your own judgment.

Personally I have not had a cent of salary for my services. I am indeed a Socialist, since I live the common life of the Paulist Fathers.

Thanking you again,

I am sincerely in Christ

David W. Kennedy, C. S. P.

## IN LOUISVILLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night at 3rd and Market Sts., Section Louisville, Socialist Labor Party, broke the record for successful open air propaganda meetings in this city. It would have quickened the pulses of some of our old faint-hearted and discouraged comrades of days gone by had they been present and witnessed this inspiring meeting. J. H. Arnold was on the stand. The meeting began at 8:30 and continued until 10 o'clock. Questions came this time before they were called for; and, happily, the questions aided the speaker to make digressions and call the attention of the audience to the educational value of our literature, in answering them.

One question was, "What would you do if you should elect a Socialist Presidential candidate, and the capitalists in control of the industries should close them down and throw the workers out of employment?" Arnold replied, "That is a good point you raise there. And then he cited the case of Bryan in whose first campaign the captains of industry threatened their wage slaves with a shut down unless they elected McKinley. Arnold showed that the workers were terrorized into voting, thousands upon thousands of them, for McKinley, through fear of losing their jobs if they didn't. "That terroristic club," he went on, "the capitalist class still holds and still wields over the heads of its slaves because these slaves are

ignorant of their class interests. When the workers, through Socialist Labor Party propaganda, are persuaded to study and understand the principles of industrial unionism and build their one universal union accordingly, the workers, men and women, in each great department of industry being organized in that department of the one union, say for example, the transportation workers in one department, the mine workers in another, the textile workers in yet another department, and so on through all the industries of the land, all being organized in one great, powerful union, equipped to take and hold and operate the industries,—when that day comes and the workers elect their Presidential candidate on the Socialist Labor Party ticket, and the captains of industry threaten to close down their industries and starve the workers into submission and cause them to annul and repudiate their choice of a Socialist Labor Party candidate for the Presidency, why the workers will laugh at the threat of those who from that hour would be their masters nevermore.

"The working class thus educated and organized and trained and disciplined in its ONE ORGANIZED UNION can snap its fingers in the faces of its former industrial masters and say to them, 'The industries which you have owned and controlled so long and which ownership and control has enabled you to lord it over us so long are the industries which we ourselves built, and which we as a class have ever operated. We now say to you that henceforth and forever we shall own and control those establishments as well as build and operate them.'"

The audience understood and appreciated the answer, but the questioner persisted. He wanted to know if it were not true that both capitalist and worker are alike the slaves of the system, and did not "both capitalist and worker vote for the system?"

Arnold replied: "It is false and absurd to say that capitalists and wage slaves are alike the slaves of the system. It's nonsense to say of a people they are all slaves to one another. If all were slaves where would our masters be? And if none were masters none would be slaves. The existence of slaves means the existence of masters of these slaves."

"What is this system this young man says all alike are the slaves of, both the buyers of labor-power and the sellers of labor-power in the labor market? It is the capitalist system, a system under which to-day about ten per cent of the people own and control the land on which we live and the machinery of production we must use in order to live, and the rest of us, about 90 per cent, must go to that small class of capitalists and sell our labor-power, that is, sell ourselves, to them by the day or the week in order to get our bread. It is the system under which, when we have worked hard and produced a surplus for our masters, our masters can close down their plants, throw us out of work, many of us to suffer actual want and hunger, and some, perhaps, to starve or commit suicide, while these masters sail away in their yachts to enjoy the ocean breezes, go to pleasant summer resorts or to comfortable wintering places, as the case may be. And yet this young man insists that capitalist and wage-slave are alike the slaves of the system. Bah!"

The audience enjoyed the answer. Other questions were asked and answered.

We sold twenty pamphlets, twenty copies of The People, and received seventy-five cents for extra copies of the special birthday edition of the Daily and pamphlets.

Jos. Reibel, who, by the way, is an old New York S. L. P. man, now living in this city, handed in two subscriptions for The People, one for one year and one for three months.

We hope to have another good report to send in from Old Kentucky before the election rolls around.

Say, old S. L. P. friends and sympathizers, wake up! Never, never before were the workers so ready for the militant Socialist message as they are right now. Let's do what we can to set them right by giving them the straight revolutionary Socialist Labor Party goods, and also by warning them against the reform middle class, political shoddy of the compromising, fusing Socialist party politicians.

R. S.

Louisville Ky., August 21.

## AGE OF REASON.

By Thomas Paine.

The book that for a hundred years the preachers have been vainly trying to answer.

Cloth, Price 50 Cents.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.  
28 City Hall Place, New York.

## WORK TOO HARD

Newporters Afflicted with Strenuosity, Seek Recuperation.

Newport, R. I., August 23.—A number of Newport's prominent summer population have been laid low by the extra hard labor they have been performing this season. These citizens and citizenesses have found out that their "finer mold," that is, "clay," has not lifted them out of the sphere of mortal, and so, after having applied themselves strenuously and acquitted themselves more strenuously of their elected tasks these few months, they are now helpless and dire distress, for the Spiteful Avenger, Disease and Destruction to all who overwork themselves, has made his appearance in the "industrious" colony.

The members of the colony have been kept on the go almost continually for the last month with dinners and luncheons. This is their special forte, capacity. And they have, it must be said, quite a capacious maw and belly. The result has been that a number of the women and some of the men have somewhat overdone their jobs. Consequently several have fainted during social entertainments and in one case a man and his wife have hurried off to the mountains for rest.

On Monday Mrs. French Vanderbilt fainted while at the dinner dance given by Mr. and Mrs. Frederick H. Prince. Last week while at a dinner dance given by Mrs. James B. Haggin Mrs. William E. Carter fainted, and she and Mr. Carter, who is not in the best of health, have gone to the mountains.

On Tuesday at a luncheon given by Mrs. Clarence W. Dolan Mrs. Reynolds Hitt and Mrs. Reginald C. Vanderbilt fainted.

Mrs. Pembroke Jones, though in mourning and not taking part in the social gaieties, was confined to her summer house by illness, and Mrs. Leonard M. Thomas and a number of others have also been sick recently.

Reginald C. Vanderbilt has been indisposed and has been confined to his home in Portsmouth.

Mrs. Craig Biddle of Philadelphia, who was operated upon at the Newport Hospital for appendicitis on Tuesday, was reported yesterday as being comfortable.

Really, the rich do have their troubles.

## Ancient Society

By Lewis H. Morgan

This is a great work, furnishing the ethnologic basis to the sociologic superstructure raised by Marx and Engels.

While the work needs close study most of it is easy reading. The student will read, and re-read, and find, each time, fresh facts not noticed before, and the opening of wider vistas not discovered at previous readings.

Those readers who have less time at their disposal may not be able to profit by the work to its full extent, but even one reading will store their minds with valuable knowledge and broaden their horizon so as to enable them to grasp the meaning of events now going on better than they could otherwise do.

The previous editions of the work were expensive, four dollars a volume being almost prohibitive, but the work is now within the reach of all.

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## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. T. E., CLARKSVILLE, MO.—There is but one Socialism. There may be "57 varieties" of would-be interpreters of it. They are the fellows who want something right away quick: cheap gas, lower railroad rates, etc., and call that Socialism. The Socialist Labor Party is the only organization that presents Socialism clearly, logically and uncompromisingly. Other questions, later.

W. McC., STRATFORD, ONT.—Newspaper clippings, containing information of general interest to the readers of The People, are always acceptable, provided name of paper and date of issue is given.

D. G., NEW YORK, N. Y.—As to graft in government? It is a system of plunder upon plunders. All governments have been rotten in that sense.

"CURIOUS," BRONX—That Socialism existed in Peru is an old story. He who utters it must hold to the theory that a thing was before it could be, that Socialism existed prior to the advent of the only conditions under which Socialism is possible. Socialism cannot be before the era of well developed machinery, which, of course, didn't exist in Peru.

"READER," BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The careful assembling of, and the presenting of facts in simple speech is more powerful, and more far-reaching, than ill-digested facts served up with flowery rhetoric.

G. H. C., WINONA, MINN.—Those people thought to "work" you. They foolishly imagine that S. L. P. folks like to strut in the capitalist press, like some others.

"RAILROADER," NEW BRISTOL, PA.—In venting their hot air about "high wages," the capitalist papers take the tip from the labor fakirs, who are continually blowing about what the "unions" have done for labor.

## "HUCKLEBERRY FINN"

ENGLISH WRITER TACKLES PROF. PECK, WHO DISPARAGED THE BOOK.

William Archer has been defending Mark Twain in the London Morning Leader, against certain criticisms by Professor Peck of "Huckleberry Finn." Archer gives the following extract from that book, and says it is "one which comes as near being merely humorous as anything in the book. Humorous it is; but not with the cheap humor of burlesque and exaggeration. We laugh, not at its extravagance, but at its probability. It is a perfect example of two simple souls tangled in the meshes of logic. Huck Finn and Jim are talking of kings in exile, and Jim wonders what those who come to America can find to do. Huck replies:

About Talking French.

"Some of them gets on the police, and some of them learns people how to talk French."

"Why, Huck, doan' de French people talk de same way we does?"

"No, Jim; you couldn't understand a word they said—not a single word."

"Well, now, I be dinged-busted! How do dat come?"

"I don't know; but it's so. I got some of their jabber out of a book. Spose a man was to come to you and say, Polly-voo-franzey—what would you think?"

"I wouldn't think nuff'n; I'd take en bust him over de head. Dat is, if he warn't white. I wouldn't 'low no nigger to call me dat."

"Shucks, it ain't calling you anything. It's only saying do you know how to talk French?"

"Well, den, why couldn't he say it?"

"Why, he is a saying it. That's a Frenchman's way of saying it."

"Well, it's a blame' ridiculous way, en I doan' want to hear no mo' 'bout

E. B., DETROIT, MICH.—Economic power, private property in the machinery of production, is the basis of political power. Your other question not understood, please restate it differently.

J. B., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The "philosophical" Anarchist is usually nothing more than an "eccentric cuss." questions, later.

MINER, PRINCETON, W. VA.—In order to get at the profits on railroad haulage of coal between specified points, we would first need to have the various items of costs, which, of course, are not available to us.

W. J. K., SALT LAKE, UTAH—Your telegram received, but its contents not being clear could not utilize it.

"STUDENT," LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Of course the I'm-a-Bummy hate the very name of Marx. Marx is to them the "face at the window," the same as he is to the Anarchist capitalist class. Will have to look up data on your question.

J. H. S., —, CONN.—Having no argument is why such people resort to vicious vituperation. The S. L. P. has the argument. That is why the mental, and other crooks hate it.

S. T. B., CHICAGO, ILL.—That is one of your S. P. errors: Nationalism and municipalization are not in themselves Socialism. State capitalism substituted for the private capitalist concern would not advantage the workers. Capitalism would still be in possession and over the workers. Apply the touchstone: do working class interests dominate? to such projects, and you will come out clear.

ALL OTHERS—Wait until next week.

D. B., PASADENA, CAL.; S. A. J., S. NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Matter received.

it. Dey ain' no sense in it." "Looky here, Jim; does a cat talk like we do?" "No, a cat don't." "Well, does a cow?" "No, a cow don't nuther." "Does a cat talk like a cow, or a cow talk like a cat?" "No, dey don't." "It's natural and right for 'em to talk different from each other, ain't it?" "Course."

"And ain't it natural and right for a cat and a cow to talk different from us?"

"Why, mos' sholy it is."

"Well, then, why ain't it natural and right for a Frenchman to talk different from us? You answer me dat!"

"Is a cat a man, Huck?"

"No."

"Well, den, dey ain't no sense in a cat talkin' like a man. Is a cow a man?—er is a cow a cat?"

"No, she ain't either of them."

"Well, den, she ain't got no business to talk like either one er the yuther of 'em. Is a Frenchman a man?"

"Yes."

"Well, den! Dad, blame it, why doan' he talk like a man? You answer me dat!"

"I see it warn't no use wasting words—You can't learn a nigger to argue. So, I quit."

"If this," says Archer, "were the best thing in 'Huckleberry Finn'—and it is not, by a long way—I should still appeal with confidence to Prince Positivity against Professor Peck's disparagement of one of the great books of the nineteenth century."

which arranged the present convention. The federation control committee, which consists only of Germans, insists that seamen join the federation, which includes dock laborers, railway men and carmen. The Americans and English attacked the Germans, accusing them of lack of comradeship and of damaging the English seamen's interests. They also accused them of damaging the strike plan by articles in the federation's papers. The sitting closed amid a tumult.

## HEATED DEBATES IN SEAMEN'S CONGRESS.

Copenhagen, August 25.—There were spirited scenes at yesterday's session of the international congress of transport laborers, the American and English delegates opposing the Germans, who were against the English strike plan and an Anglo-American motion, which was supported by the Danes, re-establishing a special international seamen's union in connection with the existing international transport workers' federation,



